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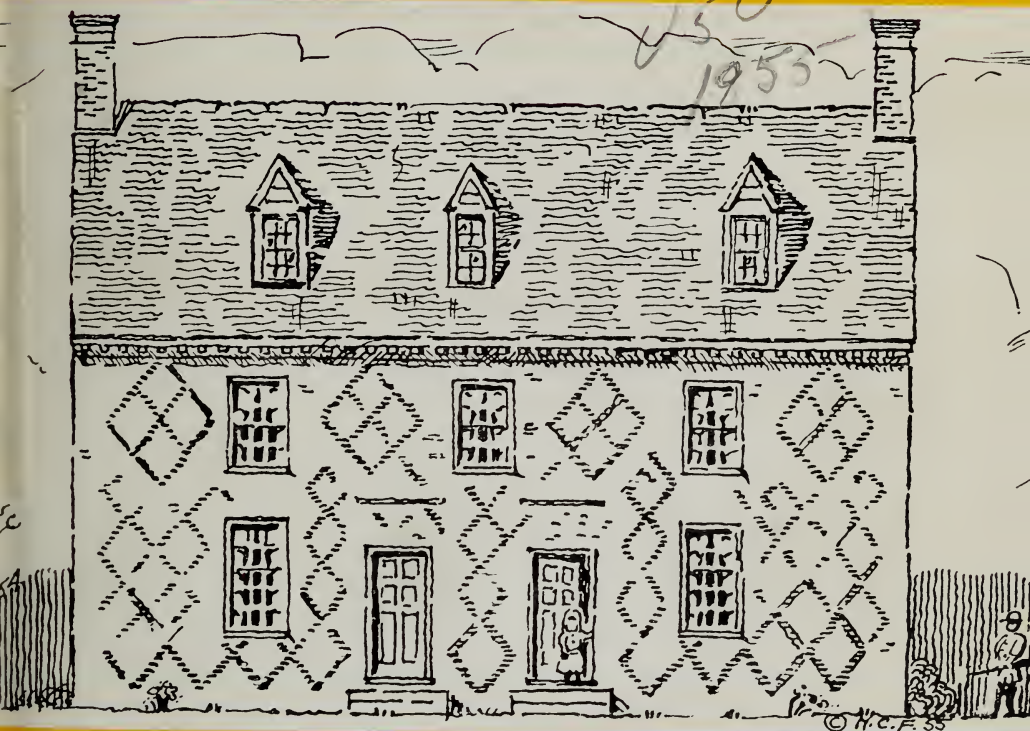






*50th Year of Publication*

# MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE



A Reconstruction Drawing of Genesar, Worcester County.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
BALTIMORE

*March · 1955*

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FRED SHELLEY, *Editor*

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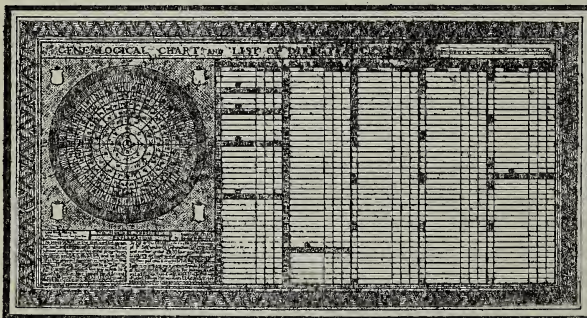
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# MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

*A Quarterly*

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Volume 50

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## GENESAR ON "THE SEA BOARD SIDE"<sup>1</sup>

By HENRY CHANDLEE FORMAN

*Illustrated by the Author*

THE unfortunate and deplorable, but in many ways inevitable, destruction of the greater part of the remnants of colonial Maryland during the last century and a half may be well summed up today in that great brick pile, "Genesar," green and grey in color, still lifting its proud but tottering head above the Atlantic Ocean beaches in Worcester County.

With the gradual ruin and continuous pillaging of Genesar, Maryland loses the most interesting building of the Transitional Style of architecture on the Eastern Shore if not in the entire State.

<sup>1</sup> Copyright 1955 by Henry Chandlee Forman. This article comprises a chapter in the writer's forthcoming book, *Tidewater Maryland Architecture*, a sequel to *Early Manor and Plantation Houses of Maryland*. No part of this article, including the cover illustration, may be reproduced in any fashion.

The writer acknowledges the kind assistance in the historical part of this article given by Mr. William D. Pitts and Mr. Edward H. Hammond.

Maryland becomes shorn of the best example, if not the only example, of Transitional panelling. And Maryland lets slip the richest glazed brick patterns, or black diapering, in the whole State, and probably in the United States.

In that icy winter of 1932 this writer discovered Genesar at the end of a roadway several miles long, which was so muddy that it was almost impassable. From that visit the first published photo-



Gable-end reconstruction of Genesar, showing the "richest glazed brick patterns in the State."

graph of the mansion in 1934 appeared.<sup>2</sup> In those days the house was empty, and all the handsome hand-carved woodwork remained except the stair balustrade. "Balusters gone" is the way it was expressed at that time in the field notes made at the site.

The history of Genesar goes back 279 years, and connects together several prominent families of the Eastern Shore. The land known as Genesar (the original name; also Genzar, Genessar, Genezir, Genezer) was patented on May 10, 1676, to the Honorable Colonel William Stevens and comprised 2,200 acres, "lying on the Sea Board side in Boquetonorton [Poquadenorton] Hundred on the south end of Sinepuxent Neck." Colonel Stevens, it appears, was one of the most important men of the Eastern

<sup>2</sup> *Early Manor and Plantation Houses of Maryland* (Easton, 1934), p. 141.



Shore, a large property owner, and one of his Lordship's deputies for Maryland. He lived at "Rehobeth" on the Pocomoke River and in 1688 died there.

Nevertheless, Stevens did not long possess Genesar, for he assigned it to Edward Whale or Whaley and to Charles Ratcliffe, who received a patent for the whole 2,200 acres on January 10, 1679. Edward Whaley, who died in 1718, married Elizabeth Ratcliffe, a sister of Charles Ratcliffe. The tradition that this Edward Whaley was the "Regicide" at the time of King Charles I has been disproven by competent scholars.<sup>3</sup>

The property was soon split into portions as follows: Charles Ratcliffe received 600 acres, Elian Ratcliffe 500, Nathaniel Ratcliffe of "Accomack" 300, and Edward Whaley 800. In 1709, upon the death of Charles Ratcliffe, his daughter Eliza received by will 200 acres of Genesar, his brother John Ratcliffe 100 acres, and his wife the remainder.<sup>4</sup>

The existing mansion, Genesar, now popularly known as "Genezir," is believed to have been constructed in 1732 by Major John Purnell, who died in 1756. The date of building is said to have been found among old manuscripts by a competent authority, but this writer has not been able to check that data. At any rate, as far as the architecture of Genesar is concerned, the year 1732, which marks approximately the terminus of the Transitional Style, is satisfactory.<sup>5</sup> No date has been found on the structure itself.

Major John Purnell married Elizabeth Ratcliffe; and their sixth child, Thomas Purnell, who married a woman of his own family of Purnell, apparently lived at Genesar. During the American Revolutionary War the house is believed to have been occupied by either the above Thomas Purnell or his son Zadok Purnell.<sup>6</sup>

In the early 1800s the property came into the possession of U. S. Senator John Selby Spence by his marriage with Maria, only daughter of Zadok Purnell. Senator Spence was born February 29, 1788, died October 22, 1840, and is buried in St. Paul's Church-

<sup>3</sup> Clayton Torrence, *Old Somerset on the Eastern Shore of Maryland* (Richmond, 1935), p. 460.

<sup>4</sup> Worcester County Land Records, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Liber 19, folio 288; Liber 21, folio 101. The patent of "Geneser," 200 acres, in 1688 to William Elgate (Liber 12, folio 119) appears to have been an error. *Maryland Calendar of Wills*, III, p. 161.

<sup>5</sup> H. C. Forman, "The Transition in Maryland Architecture," *Maryland Historical Magazine* XLIV (December, 1949), plate 1, p. 276.

<sup>6</sup> Letter of Mr. William D. Pitts.

yard, Berlin. Then, about 1867, approximately 700 acres, along with the mansion, were purchased by Zadok Purnell Henry, I, from whom the place descended through his son of the same name to the three heirs, John D. Henry, Addie Byrd Henry (Mrs. Ethan Allen Carey), and Dr. Zadok Purnell Henry, III, the last two of whom are still living. In 1939 Genesar was sold out of the Henry family.

Perhaps the moss-eaten brick pile has no claim to fame such as the event, "George Washington slept here," but there is a belief in the neighborhood that a ship of the British Navy during the War of 1812 fired upon Genesar. We know today that little harm came to the dwelling through cannon balls. The Maryland W. P. A. *Guide* states that there may be bullet holes in the walls; "may" is a good word when one is not sure of his facts. Besides, Genesar was out of range of any ship of that time which lay off shore.<sup>7</sup>

But another tradition which may have more truth than fiction in it still persists through several generations of the Henry family. This is the story: During the American Revolution a British ship came through the North Beach inlet, which no longer exists, and the owner of Genesar at that time, Thomas (or Zadok) Purnell, became alarmed. He feared a landing party. The day was frigid and the snow lay upon the ground. He armed his slaves with corn stocks and marched them in formation across the field in front of the house down to the shore, and then along the shore from one clump of trees to another. Then he had his slaves furtively crawl back to the house, form and march again over the same terrain. By this means he allowed time for his family to move out of the mansion their possessions, such as china and clothing. One of the china platters said to have been carried away in haste that day was not broken and is owned now by a member of the Henry family.

At the time of this writing, Genesar mansion is like a huge dilapidated coffin stuffed with straw. In reality it is used as a barn, and hay sticks out doors and windows. Except for building materials of old brick and wood, its monetary value is nothing. The roofs are caving in by degrees. For several years some floors were overloaded with bags of fertilizer and other farm materials,

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* Also, *Maryland, A Guide to the Old Line State* (New York, 1940), p. 450.



The west gable-end of Genesar in which lozengy may be seen by keen eyes, is marked by strong Gothic verticality. Author's photograph, 1934.





A truck drove up in the night to Genesar, and this panelling from the Hall Chamber was secretly stolen. In their haste the marauders left the woodwork. Author's photograph, 1932.

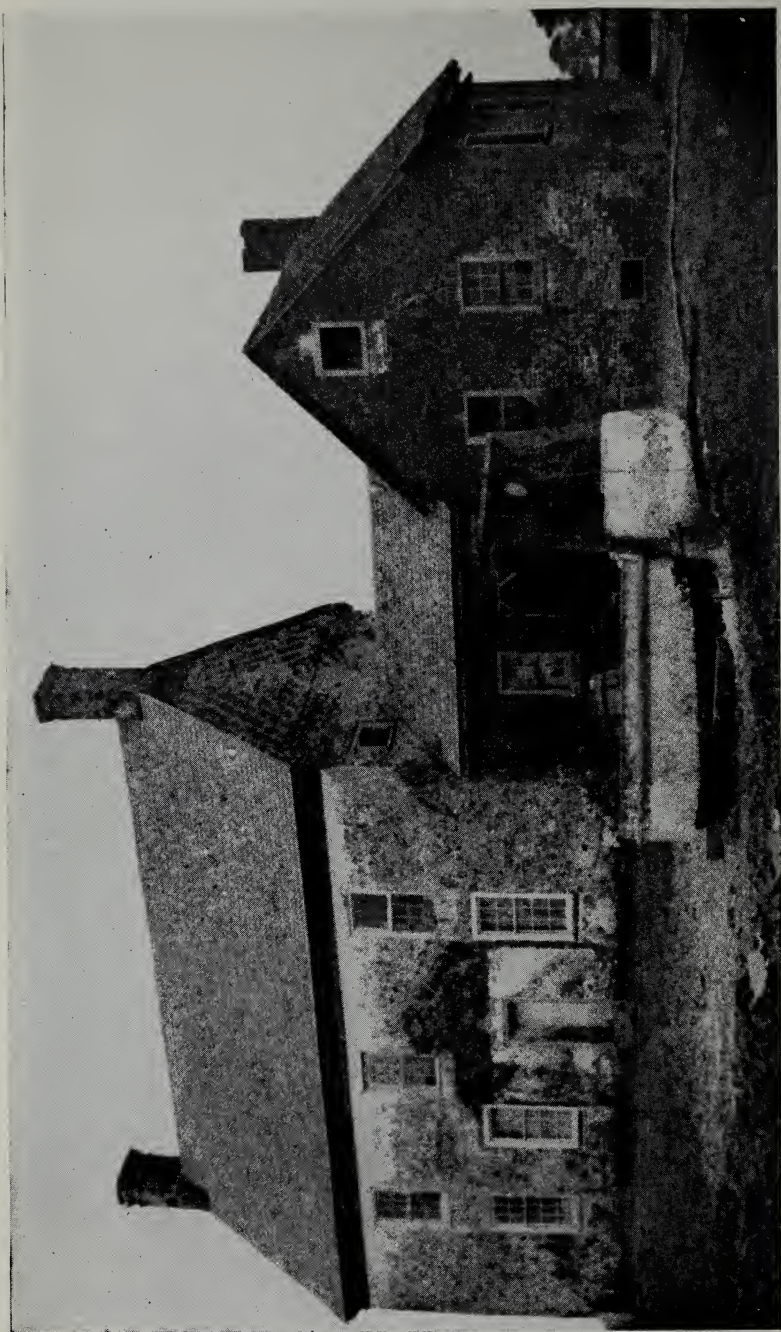


The rare transitional panelling at Genesar has small squares and near-squares, and a door with a double-cross design. All this woodwork has disappeared. Author's photograph, ca. 1934.



A detail of the handsome stair at Genesar before the "question-mark" spandrels on the steps were stripped. Author's photograph, 1934.





The approach front of Genesar, Worchester County, as it looked in 1932, before much pillaging had been done.  
The well has now gone.

and fell in; other floors have been ripped up for sport. Brick partitions have been demolished by hand by visitors of a certain type. The carved spandrels on the side of the graceful stairway which rises to the attic have been systematically stripped down to the very last one. All the doors and windows of the original house, except the broken pieces of one door, found buried in fragments in the refuse of the attic, have disappeared from the premises. What a picture to paint for Marylanders and for that vast hinterland of persons interested in early American arts: Gradually, year by year, for more than twenty-two years, Genesar has been dying by inches—if a building with such a personality as this can die. It is now a shambles, beyond hope of repair and restoration unless a fortune is spent upon it. And all these changes have been taking place—at least in recent years—with the main paved highway to a new multi-million-dollar beach development project running past the front door.

However that may be, the crowning indignity to Genesar came one dark night years ago—some time within that decade following 1941—when vandals pillaged the place. Now a vandal is defined as a ruthless plunderer, a wilful destroyer of what is beautiful or artistic; and that description fits these particular visitors. It has been reported by several persons of the neighborhood, including the caretaker of the farm, that a truck was driven up to the house, and the handsome panelling in the Hall Chamber over the Great room was stripped from the walls and loaded. As may be seen in our photographs, this panelling rose to the ceiling on three sides. That the murky deed was a hasty one is indicated by the fact that the thieves left significant pieces of the woodwork behind them.

Pilfered at that time or at another was the dining room cupboard in the style of Queen Anne, with scrolled shelves, as well as most of the woodwork in that room and in the Great room. The dining room mantel had pilasters with sunken panels and a rope moulding around the opening. Some of the panelled pilasters on pedestals which framed the windows in the Great room are still in place—overlooked by the marauders. After all, it is not easy to work fast by flashlight.

It has been truthfully reported in the neighborhood that the panelling from the Hall Chamber now stands with elegance in a

home in a neighboring State; but wherever it is, Maryland has lost probably its foremost example of Transitional woodwork. In its design of small squares and near-squares this panelling forms the intermediate step between the earlier, random-width, vertical boarding, which is medieval, and the large, rectangular-designed panels, which are Georgian. In truth it is difficult to locate any other panelled room in this country like that at Genesar.

The slenderness of the main block of Genesar is distinctive: forty-five feet long by nineteen feet wide, and two-and-a-half stories high. There is no basement. The house towers skyward like a chimney stack, an excellent example of the Transition where the blossoming has taken place upward instead of rearward. The roof is steep and had at one time four dormers, only one of which now remains. Even so, it is scarcely an exaggeration to declare that this lone dormer on the back roof is the most steeply-pointed early one existing in Maryland. The eaves of the main roof "kicked" or "swallow-tailed" outward by means of a system of wooden wedges fastened upon the lower ends of the rafters. The main cornice on the front is an early Georgian type carrying S-shaped modillions, dentils, and a bed moulding of recessed elliptical-arches, alternately small and large. At the ends of this front cornice the modillions return on themselves. Between the modillions runs a punctate design of the same elliptical-arch motif noted above. All in all, the Purnell builder with this ornamental cornice put his best foot foremost, because the rear cornice is a plain box-like affair. Another detail of interest is the barge board with cyma moulding filling the space under the edge of the cedar shingles at the rake.

The charm of the colonial style lies largely in its details, and one of these details was the insertion of four tiny windows in each gable-end of the original block. All these eight openings, as far as present research has disclosed, have been changed in size or blocked up in one way or another. Further, there is today a ninth tiny opening, a lie-on-your-stomach window in the west gable. This aperture is three inches wider than any of the others, and although early in date, it was evidently punched through the brick wall to give ventilation to the west attic bedroom, which had one dormer only. Consequently, this window has been omitted in the drawings.



In doing what amounted to detective work upon the front and rear façades, we found that the house had two front doors and two back doors, where today there exists only one door in each façade. At some period in the history of Genesar mansion two doors were changed into windows; now that the window frames have been stripped from the walls, the door-head timbers of the original doorways may be seen embedded in the masonry walls—enough evidence to convince the most skeptical investigator.

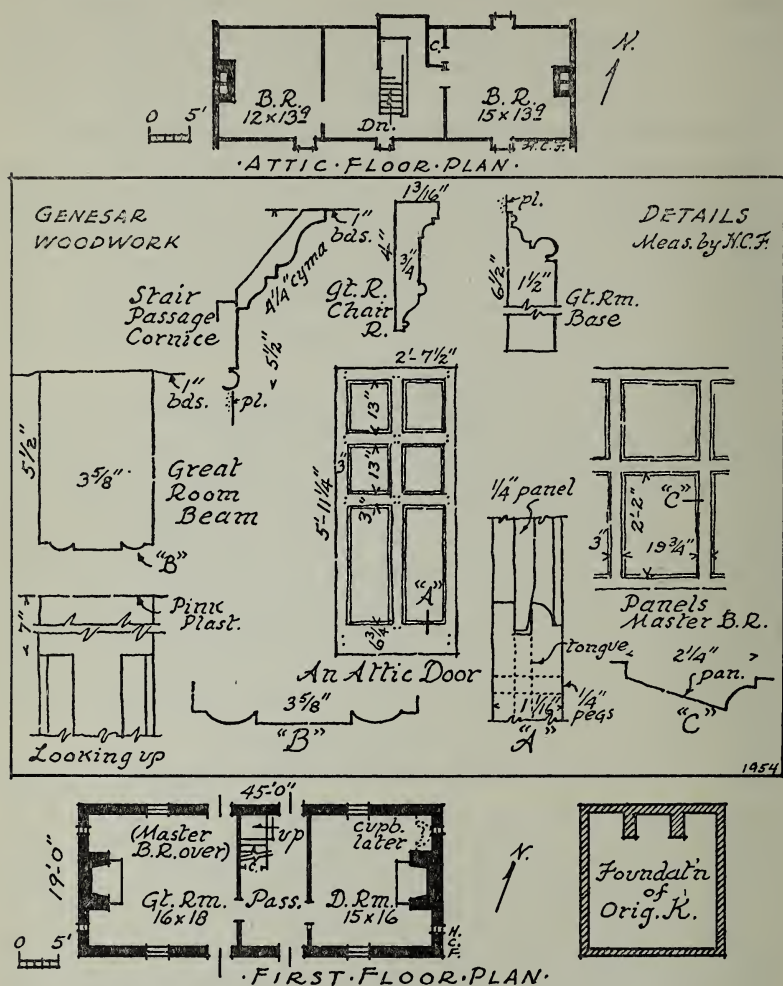
Now when the dwelling was first erected, the Great room had a front and a rear doorway all to itself, features which were later made into windows. Why did Major John Purnell need so many outside doors? There is no trace of the Great room having been the downstairs part of an earlier domicile; then for what were double doors in front and back? Symmetry? Early American architecture is not without its puzzles.

The most ornate glazed brickwork, or black diapering, known in Maryland embellishes the front façade and gable-ends of Genesar. The diamond or lozenge pattern in brick is called "black diapering" in England, where it was widespread in the early 16th century.<sup>8</sup> The tracing out of the glazed brickwork at Genesar under a heavy coat of stucco has been a far more difficult task than the drawings indicate; but enough evidence was found to make the reconstructions. Curiously enough, less of the patterns beneath the stucco may be seen at the site than from certain photographs, which, X-ray like, reveal the designs. Where no evidence was to be had, we have put in the designs conjecturally.

The lozeny covers the west gable-end below the string course or fascia, above which are inverted V's or chevrons. This gable resembles that at "Make Peace" in Somerset County but is taller, being a storey higher than "Make Peace." Perhaps the gable at "Quinn" or "Sweet Air," Baltimore County, comes close to the west gable-end of Genesar, but it does not have the chevrons. The main entrance front of Genesar resembles the diapering at "Fassit House," Worcester County, a smaller home of one-and-a-half stories. The north gable of Genesar keeps above the string course the chevrons of the south gable, but below, lapses into ordinary Flemish bond with glazed headers. There was no need

<sup>8</sup> Forman, *The Architecture of the Old South* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), p. 71.

in the builder's mind to place elaborate lozenge opposite the kitchen dependency, which stood only seventeen feet away from the gable-end.



The original floor plans, and some woodwork details, of Genesar. Note the double doors on front and back, and the four attic dormers.

The stucco which covers the main block was put on in the 19th century and was lightly grooved or scored to represent ashlar

masonry. At that time, possibly the 1860s or '70s, there was a small front porch shading the remaining front doorway. The column marks of this porch are still visible against the windows which flank this doorway. Also there are crude traces of the porch roof crossing the lower corner of a second floor window—a Victorian trick. One puzzling feature of the existing front door is the two-inch-deep groove in the brickwork above it. The other doorway on the front appears to have had a similar incision in the brick wall. That the hollow shows no signs of chiselling of the masonry would indicate that the groove was made when the walls were first built; but what was its purpose is a mystery. The groove is not deep enough to support a hood over the doorway.

Some other features of the interior are of note. On the first floor ceiling are wide flat boards, characteristic of houses of this section of Worcester County. On closer investigation, it was found that the boards had been nailed over decorative beams which were once exposed. Each beam is edged with rounded mouldings, flattened out in a very un-Gothic manner. Possibly such mouldings, which are shown on the drawings, may be termed "Transitional." At any rate, these mouldings in each beam stop abruptly, without "lamb's tongues," at a distance of seven inches from the plaster wall.

The Great room has pink plaster, possibly the original color, and before the walls were stripped, had an elaborate trim of pilasters on pedestals flanking the windows. Also the chair rail and base-board are very curvilinear. On the stairway the balusters were plain, having been rectangular in section. The spandrels were elaborately carved with pierced scrolls, somewhat in the shape of a question mark. Below the spandrels runs a flat band of incised stub flutes, making a pattern. The side of the stair is panelled. But most of all these features are going or gone.

The present brick kitchen, and the "curtain," or passageway connecting it, are additions of the 19th century. After spending an hour or so in the cramped crawl-in space under the kitchen—an area full of dead spiders, snakes, skeletons, trash, cobwebs, and dirt, we can come to the conclusion that the kitchen foundation, built of larger bricks than those of the present kitchen, is original, and formerly supported a wooden building, of perhaps 1732. Be that as it may, there was found no evidence of a

"curtain" to the main house in the 18th century, and the food evidently had to be carried out-of-doors to the back door in the stair passage of the main house, and from thence to the dining room. Small wonder that in the early days silver platter covers and padded tea cozies were necessary.

The kitchen development at Genesar has been worked out something like this. First, a separate frame kitchen dependency. Second, the present 19th-century kitchen erected on the foundations of the original and a brick "curtain" built simultaneously the full width of the main house. This "curtain" was roofed with a flat deck which sloped down toward the rear and crossed one of the tiny end-windows of the east gable-end. Two doors were cut in the east gable-end for access to the main house: one, downstairs, to shorten the food route to the dining room; the other, opening upon the flat deck from the second floor east bedroom. Why the owners needed to go out on the flat deck is a puzzle. In those days bathing beauties did not lie prone on flat decks for sun tan.

Third, the rear brick wall of the "curtain" was taken down, or it collapsed, and a new frame wall built which very much narrowed the passageway. The roof was changed to a pitched one. This is the "curtain" as it exists today.

By 1932, the year of our first visit, the Genesar tombstones had disappeared. The dilapidated smoke house with an interesting overhang and its rough battened door hanging upon strap-hinges still stood, a good bull's eye for Father Time. By now, all the outbuildings of Genesar have disappeared. But when the remaining bricks and timbers of the mansion-house have been finally carried away to make room for a real estate development, Maryland will possess only a few photographs and drawings of what was perhaps its most outstanding example of the Transitional Style of architecture and of what was one of the most unique early edifices of this nation.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Though a private building, Genesar was placed high on a list of structures worthy of attention by The Regional Architectural Survey of Eastern Maryland Public and Semi-Public Buildings in 1951. In conclusion the Survey states, "This is one of the earlier houses in Maryland, and unless immediate steps are taken to preserve it, it will disappear within a few years." The Survey, sponsored by the Maryland Historical Society and the Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities, was conducted by the architectural firm of Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn, Kehoe and Dean, of Boston.—*Ed.*



# THE GREAT MARYLAND BARRENS

By WILLIAM B. MARYE <sup>1</sup>

## INTRODUCTION

THE subject of this article is that of a vast extent of land, the salient characteristics of which, when first observed by white people, were the extreme scarcity everywhere—more generally the absence—of timber; acres upon acres overgrown with nothing but saplings; other considerable areas, with bushes only; still others, denuded and bare. These characteristics seem to have been misinterpreted by many, and it is no wonder. They were generally attributed to a lack of fertility, if not a sterility, of the soil. But when, in the course of years, although tardily, the Barrens became fully settled, a medium to high degree of fertility was induced by the settlers, farmers, and planters, over wide stretches; the sapling lands produced timber trees, hardwood seedlings sprang up on the bushy grounds, and the Barrens vanished, at first from view, and then at last even from memory.<sup>2</sup>

Toward the end of the 18th century we read in the *Annapolis Maryland Gazette* and the *Baltimore American* advertisements of the sale of land in the Barrens, in which one of the chief advantages is the timber which is said to be growing thereon. Many an old farmer, born and "raised" within the area of the Barrens, would stand you down, in the face of irrefutable evi-

<sup>1</sup> The author owes a considerable debt of thanks to Mr. Malcolm W. Waring, Administrative Assistant, Land Office, Annapolis, Mr. John Hemphill, of Elkridge, Dr. Arthur G. Tracey, of Hampstead, and Mr. Samuel Mason, of Darlington, for valuable information.

On two previous occasions the author has taken notice, in print, of the Barrens. See "The Old Indian Road," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XV (1920), 109n, and "Patowmeck Above Ye Inhabitants," *ibid.*, XXX (1935), 120-121.

<sup>2</sup> As far as I am aware, there is only one relatively small section of the Barrens which, until recently, was called "the barrens," and that is the country between Mount Carmel and Hereford in Baltimore County. I obtained this information in 1915 from the late John Mays Little, of Parkton, a man intimately acquainted with his part of the county. Mr. Little told me that the country between these two places was characterized at that time by scrubby woods, but that there were already definite signs of improvement.

dence, that his part of the state never was, nor could have been, a "barrens."

At the outset, it seems wise to draw a distinction among types of barrens. The type with which we have to deal is not to be confused with that of the so-called "pine barrens," a term which, by the way, has long been in use.<sup>3</sup> However, within our barrens, in their later stage at least, there were more or less extensive stretches of land overgrown with pines. Another type of barrens was that of a waste, like the Bare Hills, near Baltimore, where the soil is thin and the rocks, of volcanic origin, have strong mineral content.<sup>4</sup> It should also be pointed out that our barrens, even where treeless, were not like prairies. They occupied, mostly, hilly country, and the valleys were not broad, like the valley of the Shenandoah.<sup>5</sup>

Extensive treeless spaces in the wilderness are noted by Thomas Pascall, a Quaker, who, writing from Pennsylvania to a friend in England, in a letter dated January 31, 1682/3, vouchsafed the following information:

I know a man together with two or three more, that happened upon a piece of Land of some Hundred acres, that is all cleare, without Trees,

<sup>3</sup> An early occurrence of the term, "pine barrens," will be found in a certificate issued by Samuel Blunston to John Reynolds, July 18, 1737, authorizing him to take up 100 acres of land in the Cumberland Valley, "at a place called the pine Meadow amongst the pine Barrens," *Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania Publications*, XII [1933-35], 65. (Italics supplied.)

<sup>4</sup> I have in mind the Black Barrens, an area situated west of Octoraro Creek, Lancaster Co., Pa., near the Maryland line. A similar area is that of the Mine Old Fields, subsequently mentioned.

<sup>5</sup> We should say that the only true prairies which were to be found in Maryland in her primitive state, were the so called "Glades" of the Youghiogheny, Garrett County. Here was the favorite hunting ground of Meshach Browning, the Nimrod of Western Maryland. From the adjacent heights wolves might be seen stalking the deer in the tall grass. The fame of these rich prairies induced Lord Baltimore to cause a great proprietary manor to be laid out there in the year 1768. (Patent Records for Land, Liber I. B. No. D., f. 583). The manor was styled "Lord Baltimore His Manor in Allegany," and contained 17,784 acres. Adjacent to this manor was "Buck Bones," surveyed for Edward Lloyd and William Paca, 3 June, 1774, and containing 500 acres (*Ibid.*, f. 673). The survey calls for Macculloughs Pack Horse Road, "the first and only road now Cut through the place called Youghyogany Glades." This road ran diagonally across the Glades from the mouth of the Little Youghiogheny to the mouth of the Cheat River. Also in the Glades were the two thousand acres called "Thomas and Ann," surveyed for Thomas Johnson, 9 April, 1774. (Military Lots, Ledger A, 1-12506, f. 19.)

Not dissimilar to the Glades was the Shenandoah Valley. Kercheval, the historian of the Valley, who had his information from aged survivors of the early settlers of those parts, describes this valley, when it was first settled by white men, as presenting the aspect of "one vast prairie." (Samuel Kercheval, *History of the Valley of Virginia* [1850], pp. 44, 266).

Bushes, stumps, that may be Plowed without let, the farther a man goes in the Country the more such Land they find.<sup>6</sup>

The great Maryland barrens<sup>7</sup> were by no means unique in their day either as to the characteristics we have named above, or as to their extent. The historian Rupp makes the following observations about the primitive condition of a great part of the Cumberland Valley in Pennsylvania:

It should be borne in mind that the region of country between Conoguinett and Yellow Breeches [Creeks], from the Susquehanna, to ten or twelve miles westward, was a *Barrens*; not a tree to be seen on a thousand acres.<sup>8</sup>

The early settlers of the Valley of Virginia found there an even vaster barrens. These "barrens," as they were called, were more properly a prairie. The land was more or less level, the soil deep and highly fertile; and the landscape, instead of being forbidding, as appears to have been the case with the great Maryland barrens, was amiable and inviting to a degree. Hugh Maxwell, of the U. S. Forestry Service, has written as follows of the Shenandoah Valley barrens:

An area now occupied in part by the counties of Frederick, Berkeley, and Jefferson was treeless. . . . The area of the treeless region in the Shenandoah Valley exceeded 1,000 square miles in one body. Grass covered the region, except for an occasional fringe of trees along the streams. . . .

This description fits the prairies of our West. Maxwell adds, that these same barrens extended across Maryland into Pennsylvania.<sup>9</sup>

Early references to the great Maryland barrens are few. What

<sup>6</sup> A. C. Myers (ed.), *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey, and Delaware* (New York, 1912), p. 254.

<sup>7</sup> The title of this article might have been: The Great Pennsylvania-Maryland Barrens. It should be borne in mind that the Maryland barrens made one with the York Barrens, which were situated in disputed territory, and later in York County, Pa.

<sup>8</sup> I. Daniel Rupp, *History of Dauphin, Cumberland, Franklin, Bedford, Adams, and Perry Counties, Pennsylvania* (Lancaster, 1846), p. 447. (Italics in the original). Particular mention of these barrens will be found in "Notes from the Blunston Licenses," *Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania Publications*, XI, 181; XII, 63, 64. See also "Old Mother Cumberland," *Pennsylvania Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, XXIV (1900), 22 ff.

<sup>9</sup> "Use and Abuse of Forests by the Virginia Indians," *Wm. and Mary Quarterly*, Series 1, XIX (1910-11), 65.

is, perhaps, the earliest of all will be found in a published report of Richard Brightwell, Captain of Rangers on Potomac River, dated October 12, 1697. The captain reported that he and his men were accustomed to range from their fort or garrison (at the Little Falls of the Potomac)<sup>10</sup> to the Sugar Lands, "being generally Stony Rocky land, near the River, all the way thither, *and barrens backwards*, but the Sugar Lands<sup>11</sup> extraordinary rich and continue soe for severall miles. . . ." <sup>12</sup>

We wait two decades for other mention of the Barrens, and when we find them, the places where the Barrens were seen and noted are far away from the Sugar Lands, on the northern side of Deer Creek, in what is now Harford County. On May 2, 1717, there was surveyed for Isaac Butterworth a small tract of land called "Roses Green," which is described as situated on both the northern and the southern sides of Deer Creek, "beginning at five bounded white oaks and a gum standing in a piece of low ground on a turning of the said creek on the north side respecting a great barren hill on the other side of the creek *also Barrons to the northward*. . . ." <sup>13</sup>

"Roses Green" lies about five miles north of Bel Air, between the mouth of Stout Bottle Branch and Sandy Hook, close to the latter. At this place Deer Creek makes a deep bend, the "turning of the creek" mentioned in the original certificate of survey.

On May 22, 1717, Col. William Holland, of Anne Arundel County, took up two hundred acres which he called "Miners Adventure."<sup>14</sup> The certificate of survey describes the land as

<sup>10</sup> William Marye, "The Baltimore County Garrison and the Old Garrison Roads," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XVI (1920), 109n.

<sup>11</sup> "Brightwell's Hunting Quarter," 1086 acres, surveyed for Richard Brightwell, August 29, 1695, is described as situated "about twenty miles above the [Little] falls of Potomack River on the land called the Sugar Land." "Pickleton's Rest," surveyed for Richard Pickleton, April 23, 1728, calls for a spring "that maketh into a run called Broad Run making into Potomack about two miles above the Sugar Lands." This defines the upper limits of the Sugar Lands. "Partnership," surveyed for William Eltinge, March 1, 1731, calls for a bounded tree near a dry gulley, "that falleth into a branch called the Horse Pen Branch [still so called] which runneth through the Sugar Lands." The Sugar Lands gave their name to Sugarlands Hundred, one of the old political subdivisions of Montgomery County.

<sup>12</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, XXIII, 261. (Italics supplied.)

<sup>13</sup> Land Office, Annapolis, Patent Records for Land, Liber I. D. No. A, f. 235. (Italics supplied.)

<sup>14</sup> Rent Roll of Baltimore County, Calvert Papers No. 883, f. 280. (Italics supplied.)



lying and being "on ye North side of Deer Creek *in ye Barrens* Beginning at 14 Bo<sup>d</sup> white oak saplins in a Cluster close by a Small Run Call<sup>d</sup> Body Run, ye s<sup>d</sup> Run descending into ye af<sup>d</sup> Creek."

"Miners Adventure" lies between Ady and Cherry Hill, within the area long known by the name of the "Mine Old Fields."<sup>15</sup> It lies to the westward of the Mine Branch, a stream identical with the Body Run of the original certificate, which rises near Street.<sup>16</sup>

Different sections of the Barrens had their own special names. In York County, Pennsylvania, they were known as the York Barrens. In Baltimore County they were called Gunpowder Barrens, or the Barrens of Baltimore. In the watershed of the Patapsco Falls they were styled the Patapsco Barrens. Elsewhere special names were not applied.

<sup>15</sup> The area known as the "Mine Old Fields" still goes by that name. According to T. T. Wyson in *The Rocks of Deer Creek* (Baltimore, 1880), p. 58, it is an "elevated plateau of considerable extent, abounding in iron-ore, chrome and soapstone," which has never been cultivated, but in time past yielded ore in abundance. This plateau lies between Minefield, on the Maryland and Pennsylvania Railroad, and Deer Creek, taking in Cherry Hill. A tract of land called "Garden Spot," surveyed for Sarah Glaspin, March 20, 1741, containing ten acres, is described as situated in Baltimore Co., in the Reserve, "beginning at a bounded white oak on ye North side of Deer Creek between ye mine old field and ye creek." (Land Office, Annapolis, Unpatented Certificate No. 575, Baltimore Co.) In 1761 Robert Adair and Archibald Buchanan were awarded (by a commission appointed under a writ of *ad quod damnum*) 100 acres of land on a branch of Deer Creek called George Rigdon's Spring Branch, "near a place called the Mine Old Fields," for the purpose of erecting thereon a forge mill (Land Office, Annapolis, Chancery Proc., Liber B. T. No. 1, f. 105). There seems to be little reason to doubt that mining activities instituted by Col. Wm. Holland (d. 1732) on "Miner's Adventure" gave rise to the name of the Mine Old Fields. A tract of land surveyed for Francis Jenkins, March 2, 1740 (patented to him, June 12, 1742) is described as situated on the North side of Deer Creek, "beginning at a bounded white oak by a small branch descending into the said creek and to the southward of Hollands Mines." This place of beginning lies approximately southwest 3/16 of a mile from the beginning of "Miners Adventure," and about the same distance to the eastwards of the beginning of "Baker's Mistake" (surveyed, 1789), in the Mine Old Fields. It is not unlikely that Col. Holland sent out a prospector into the wilderness, or went there in person. "*Our woods are full of mine hunters*," wrote Philemon Lloyd to his "Co-Partners" from Wye River, July 22, 1722, Calvert Papers No. 1079, Md. Hist. Soc. (printed in *The Calvert Papers* [Baltimore, 1894], Fund Publication No. 34, p. 40). (Italics supplied.)

<sup>16</sup> The mouth of the Mine Branch is 3½ miles below the Rocks of Deer Creek, and 2½ miles above Sandy Hook, in a straight line. The Mine Branch is mentioned in the certificates of survey of "Garland's Last Shift," 1741, and of "Billingsley's Enlargement," 1752. (Unpatented Certificates No.'s 576 and 188, Baltimore Co.)

## THE BARRENS DESCRIBED BY EYE WITNESSES:

## GENERAL DESCRIPTIONS

The barrens of central Maryland are described by the Hon. Philemon Lloyd in a letter addressed to his "Co-Partners" (unidentified), dated October 8, 1722.<sup>17</sup> Lloyd was a well informed man, who undoubtedly knew whereof he spoke. He was a member of the Council from 1711 until his death in 1732. He was intimately acquainted with the back country and in 1721 prepared a map of the wilderness lying west of the Monocacy as far as the sources of the Potomac and its affluents. This map is styled "Potowmeck above ye Inhabitants."<sup>18</sup> Here, then, was a trustworthy observer; he wrote in part as follows:

now, th<sup>t</sup> we are about Lycencing our People, to make Remote Settlem<sup>ts</sup>, we must likewise use the Proper Measures to protect them; *for the Lands next above our Settlem<sup>ts</sup> upon the West side of the Shenandoah, and all along upon the west side of Baltimore Co<sup>ty</sup>*, are cutt off & separated from the Present Inhabited parts by large Barrens, many miles over; so th<sup>t</sup> as yet, the settlers there can expect very Little Communication w<sup>th</sup> us; yet if they should be cutt off & Murthered by the Indians we must Insist upon satisfaction for the security of our present Outer Habitations; w<sup>ch</sup> may Involve us in a fatall War.

[And again:] this eastermost side of Monockasey, is the ffirst place th<sup>t</sup> will Naturally be planted, and thence up along the Line of 40, if we can but secure our People there, & th<sup>t</sup> by the help of an Instrum<sup>t</sup> we Can but find where or near About th<sup>t</sup> Line of 40th Lyeth. But *from the Heads of Patapsco, Gunpowder & Bush Rivers, over to Monockasey*, is a Vast Body of Barrens; th<sup>t</sup> is, what is called so, because there is no wood upon it; besides Vast Quantities of Rockey Barrens. If this Place would be seated, it would be a good Barrier unto the Province on th<sup>t</sup> side, & doubt not, but it would in a few years, bring on the Planting of th<sup>t</sup> other Body of Rich Lands, th<sup>t</sup> Lyes something more to the Westward. . . .

More than thirty years later another eminent citizen of Maryland, Dr. Charles Carroll of Annapolis, who speculated in land on a truly grand scale, and, who, unquestionably, knew the Barrens at first hand, mentions them in a letter written about 1753 to his only son, Charles, later "Barrister" Carroll, of Mount Clare,

<sup>17</sup> Calvert Papers No. 1080, Md. Hist. Soc. (printed in *The Calvert Papers* [Baltimore, 1894] Fund Publication No. 34, pp. 57-58). (Italics supplied.)

<sup>18</sup> See William B. Marye, "Potowmeck Above Ye Inhabitants," *Md. Hist. Mag.* XXX (1935), 1-11, 114-137.

but at that time a student at the Middle Temple, London. The father is discoursing about the economic development of the Province:

about thirty miles from Navigable Water is a Range of barren dry Land without Timber about nine miles wide which keeps a Course about North East and South West parallel with the mountains *thro this province Virginia & Pennsilvania* but between that and the Mountains the lands mend and are Very good in Several parts.<sup>19</sup>

It should be noted that both Lloyd and Carroll attribute the "barrenness" of this great area to lack of fertility, at least by implication. The first named looked upon the Barrens as a rather formidable barrier between the settlers living to the eastward of them and those who might be disposed to settle upon lands situated farther to the west, which he took to be more fertile. Carroll says that west of the Barrens the lands "mend." The area once occupied by the Barrens is very well watered. Carroll calls it "dry," by which he must mean, lacking in humus. One says that there is "no wood" upon it; the other, that it is "without timber." Neither of these descriptions excludes the presence of the "sapling land," of which we shall find mention in particular descriptions. Neither one mentions the cause, which, according to later writers, underlay the Barrens, namely, fire, deliberately set by the Indians. Carroll may have seen more of sapling lands than Lloyd; for, whatever the origin of the Barrens, this barren land, in the course of the 18th century, undoubtedly (except where it was farmed or pastured) grew up in woods.

As to the alleged "dry" quality of land in the Barrens, which we have attributed to a lack of humus, it must have been due to repeated burning, if, as is maintained by Maxwell and others, fire was the underlying cause of the phenomenon. Where the destruction was total, we should expect erosion to follow, but seemingly there is no evidence to support this hypothesis. It is known that the two tidal rivers, Gunpowder and Patapsco, in their pristine state, had deep water up to their heads. The sources of the two principal streams which drained into these estuaries,

<sup>19</sup> "Extracts from Account and Letter Books of Dr. Charles Carroll, of Annapolis," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXV (1930), 64. (Italics supplied.) I do not understand Dr. Carroll's "thirty miles," unless he means the outer limits of the Barrens; but of another "barrens" of equal magnitude there can not be any question.

the Great Falls of Gunpowder River and the Falls of Patapsco, lay far up in the Barrens. The alluvial deposits in Gunpowder River, which helped to make a dead town of Joppa, and the silting up of the Patapsco, date from historical times, and were the result of farming in the valleys of the two freshwater rivers. It is doubtful, therefore, if erosion ever got a strong hold on the Barrens. Coarse grass, principally sedge, must have covered the barest places, where there were neither saplings nor bushes.

### PARTICULAR DESCRIPTIONS OF THE BARRENS

Notations as to the quality of the land surveyed are occasionally endorsed on the certificates of survey of lands taken up in the Barrens. Since these endorsements are few, and since each one of them makes a definite contribution to our knowledge of the aspects of different sections of the Barrens during their later phase, each must be mentioned in some detail:

The first of these notations we shall take up is that endorsed by James Calder, deputy surveyor for Baltimore County, on the certificate of survey of "Johns Barrens Enlarged," 477 acres, which was laid out for Abraham Jarrett, December 20, 1771.<sup>20</sup> It is a picture of desolation: "one half barrens the rest small saplings and bushes<sup>21</sup> soil thin."

<sup>20</sup> Recorded at the Land Office, Annapolis, in Patent Records for Land, Liber I. C. No. B., f. 434. We owe the discovery of this record to Mr. Waring. This land was taken up following an order issued by Lord Baltimore, Feb. 13, 1766, appointing Governor Sharpe, Hon. Daniel Dulany, and John Morton Jordan, Esq., a commission with power to dispose of his reserve lands and manors (*Archives of Maryland*, XXXII, 134-135). After the Revolution the Commissioners for the Sale of Confiscated British Property sold the land to Abraham Jarrett, who died, without having taken out a patent. October 10, 1787, his widow, Martha Jarrett, petitioned the Chancellor for a patent. According to her petition, "Johns Barrens Enlarged" then lay wholly in Harford Co. This tract is bounded by "Johns Forrest," surveyed for Richard Rhodes, Jr., March 2, 1750 (Unpatented Certificate No. 811, Baltimore Co.), which in turn is bounded by "Elizabeth's Delight," surveyed for William Sinkler, or Sinclair, Nov. 30, 1741 (Unpatented Certificate No. 475, Baltimore Co.). This certificate of survey calls for Fuller's Mine Branch. "Elizabeth's Delight" lies partly in Baltimore Co. and partly in Harford Co., at the head of the First Mine Run, which divides the Tenth District of Baltimore County from the Seventh District, and was formerly called Fuller's Mine Run, The Great Mine Run, or, simply, the Mine Run, and is not to be confused with the Harford Co. Mine Run. (Baltimore Co. Land Records, Liber T. K. No. 229, f. 1: Nathaniel Lytle to Christopher Slade, mortgage, March 20, 1833.)

<sup>21</sup> Properly speaking, a sapling is a young hardwood timber tree, such as an oak or a hickory. By "bushes" we should understand not only the usual shrubs, but certain arborescent species, such as the sassafras and the persimmon. A young



"Johns Barrens Enlarged" is a survey of irregular outline, measuring about  $1\frac{3}{4}$  miles from north to south, and about  $1\frac{7}{8}$  miles in breadth. Its northern limits must be in the immediate neighborhood of Blackhorse. Its eastern limits come well within half a mile of Madonna. Its southern limits are close to a line drawn east from Shepperd. It lies in Harford County, west of the Little Falls of Gunpowder River, on both sides of the Old York Road from Blackhorse to Manor, which crosses the Little Falls about due east of Shepperd.

"Henderson's Inclosure," 245 acres, was surveyed, March 20, 1771, for Daniel Henderson.<sup>22</sup> On the certificate of survey the following description is endorsed: "40 acres of barrens, the rest sapling land and thin soil." The survey calls for a ridge on the south side of Little Deer Creek. This endorsement was made by James Calder, surveyor for Baltimore County.

On the certificate of survey of "Pitt," laid out for Benjamin Rogers, October 25, 1770, James Calder has made the following endorsement:

On this survey is about 35 acres of glade that may be made into meadow and 200 acres of Bare Barrens on the rest partly scrubby wood & saplings there is some part of the Falls of Gunpowder included on one side of which there are high steep and Rocky Hills the soil on the east side is of a middling grade the Quantity is small the rest there and in many places very poor and stony.<sup>23</sup>

Two advertisements of the sale of "Pitt," which appeared in the *Maryland Journal* of November 27, 1786, and February 12, 1787, respectively, give details concerning the situation of the land:

In Gunpowder Barrens; within two miles of the Upper York Road; <sup>24</sup> about 27 miles from Baltimore Town; five miles from "Benjamin Rogers Reserve"; divided by the Great Falls of Gunpowder River.

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dogwood is not a "sapling," but, strange to say, is always a "tree," and so is a Judas or redbud. The sassafras occasionally grows into a stately tree, as witness the two large sassafras trees at the foot of the lawn in front of the Mansion House in Druid Hill Park, Baltimore.

<sup>22</sup> Land Office, Annapolis, Unpatented Certificate No. 686, Baltimore Co. "Henderson's Inclosure" lay in the Reserve, and is now in Harford Co.

<sup>23</sup> Land Office, Annapolis, Patented Certificate No. 3859, Baltimore Co. "Pitt" was a resurvey on two small tracts of leased land, viz., "Rogers' Reserve" and "Hurst's Marsh," containing 105 acres in all.

<sup>24</sup> A branch of the York Road left the present York Road a short distance north of Hereford and crossed the Sixth District in a northwesterly direction.

"Pitt" lies on both sides of the West Branch of the Great Falls of Gunpowder River, in the Sixth District of Baltimore County, below Rockdale, and above the mouth of the Grave Run, about four miles south of the Mason and Dixon Line.<sup>25</sup>

A tract of land containing 2519 acres was surveyed for Jonathan Plowman, October 24, 1770, by James Calder, and called "The Three Divisions."<sup>26</sup> The certificate of survey bears the following endorsement:

This Survey Contains Land of Different Qualities; on the south sides of the hills and the heads of Hollows soil is pretty good; on the Levels the soil is thin and Cold; Chesnut trees and Red oaks chiefly; about one fourth of the whole is Bare Barrens; there is about 80 acres of Marsh land that may be made into Meadow In general this land is not so good as hath been reported.

"The Three Divisions" lies on streams which flow into the west branch of the Great Falls of Gunpowder River above the Prettyboy Reservoir in what is now the Sixth District of Baltimore County. It comprised 2,220<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> acres of land which at that late date was still "vacant."<sup>27</sup>

Another extensive tract of land in the Barrens was "Benjamin Rogers Reserve," which was laid out for Benjamin Rogers, December 1, 1770, and contained 1,135 acres.<sup>28</sup> The following description is endorsed on the certificate of survey:

On this survey there is about 50 acres of marsh & Gladly Ground, about

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<sup>25</sup> G. M. Hopkins, *Atlas of Baltimore County* (Philadelphia, 1877), pp. 40, 41 (Sixth District) shows residences of the Gore family, owners of a considerable part of "Pitt." Charles Gore, in his will, dated December 7, 1837, left a life interest in 205 acres, part of "Pitt," then his "dwelling plantation," to his wife. (Wills, Baltimore Co., Liber 16, f. 428). April 19, 1845, Charles and Christian Gore, sons of Charles Gore, Sr., deceased, conveyed their interest in "Pitt" to their brother, Samuel Gore. (Baltimore Co. Land Records, Liber A. W. B. No. 352, f. 104.)

<sup>26</sup> Unpatented Certificate No. 1622, Baltimore Co.

<sup>27</sup> This survey has an extreme length of close to four and a quarter miles (1350 perches), measured from north to south. No stream or any recognizable landmark is called for in the survey, which was never patented, and which, therefore, can not be traced by means of deeds. However, the surveys of two small tracts of land, which were included within its bounds, call for small streams flowing into the Western Fork of the Main, or Great Falls, of Gunpowder River. These are: "Wheeler's Lot," surveyed for John Wheeler, April 16, 1761 (Unpatented Certificate No. 1714, Baltimore Co.); and "Hard Scuffle," surveyed for Trego Tracey, September 16, 1751. (Unpatented Certificate No. 661, Baltimore Co.) Thanks are due to Mr. Malcolm W. Waring for this information. This land may lie wholly on the north side of the Western Falls, or it may be divided by the Falls. Its southernmost part can not be farther north than Rockdale or Middletown, for if so, its northernmost part would lie in Pennsylvania.

<sup>28</sup> Land Office, Annapolis, Patented Certificate No. 558, Baltimore Co.

200 acres of sapling Land 300 acres of Bare Barrens the Rest small Bushes Soil of Both Bushy and barren Land is very thin and both Hilley, and Stoney, the soil of the Sapling Land is Middling, but Claimed by Gaypot and Bynian.<sup>29</sup>

"Benjamin Rogers Reserve" was offered for sale in the *Maryland Journal*, February 5, 1782, November 7, 1783, and March 2, 1792. The land is described as situated 23 to 25 miles from Baltimore Town, in North Hundred (i. e., Northwest of a line drawn from the mouth of the Black Rock Run to the mouth of Bee Tree Run above Walker), in Gunpowder Barrens.<sup>30</sup> The first advertisement mentions the "plenty of timber" with which the land "abounds." The second qualifies this statement with the information that three hundred acres are cleared and fenced, and the residue "is in woods consisting of shingle and good rail timber."

Since there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of James Calder's description of this land as it was in 1770, it seems incredible that in the space of twelve years, 885 acres of bushes and bare barrens had produced any quantity of timber worth mentioning. Whatever timber was standing on the property in 1782, stood either on the former sapling land or in the meadow. Some of the sapling land may have been cleared, as this was deemed to be the best part of the estate, though only "middling" in quality. The point which we wish to make is this, that the sapling lands in the Barrens, if let alone, produced timber, just as cut over lands do, if spared the scourge of fire.

The situation of "Benjamin Rogers Reserve" is important as regards the limits of the Barrens in those parts. The land lay in Lord Baltimore's Reserve, but came pretty close to its western boundary. The third advertisement mentions the fact that it lies "near Richard Johns' Mill."<sup>31</sup> The survey calls for a bounded tree standing near a small branch of the Black Rock Run. "Benjamin Rogers Reserve" lies almost entirely in the Fifth District of Baltimore Co. It is a tract of land which extends from the

<sup>29</sup> "Gaypot and Bynian": the author has searched for an explanation of these curious words but in vain.

<sup>30</sup> In August, 1787, the Court of Baltimore Co. appointed Jonathan Tipton overseer of roads "from Benjamin Rogers's Quarter by Jonathan Timon's *across the Barrens* to Anthony Nulls as laid out by sd Jonathan Tipton and Robert Lemmon." (Minutes of the Baltimore Co. Court, Liber W. G., 1787-1791.) "Benjamin Rogers's Quarter" may refer either to "Benjamin Rogers Reserve" or to "Pitt."

<sup>31</sup> Not identified; perhaps, Dover Mill.

headwaters of Black Rock Run in a southwesterly direction, 2 $\frac{7}{8}$  miles, to within a mile, more or less, of the Baltimore-Hanover Road.<sup>32</sup> It lies largely in the valley of the Piney Run.

Descriptions endorsed on the certificate of survey of a tract of land called "Castle Calder"<sup>33</sup> give us our most impressive picture of the Barrens. This land, surveyed for Captain James Calder,<sup>34</sup> May 6, 1771, contained 662 acres. It lies in the Seventh District of Baltimore County, on both sides of the Northern Prong of the Great Falls of Gunpowder River,<sup>35</sup> but mostly on the eastern side thereof, within 4 $\frac{1}{4}$  miles of the Pennsylvania Line, extending southwards from the bend of the Falls immediately to the east of Walker,<sup>36</sup> down nearly to Parkton. This land today is reported to be highly fertile and well wooded, and there seems to be no local tradition of its ever having been regarded as "barren."<sup>37</sup> Adjacent land is described as situated "in the Barrens."<sup>38</sup>

<sup>32</sup> "Charles's Luck," 175 acres, advertised for sale in the *Maryland Journal*, Nov. 24, 1786, *adjoining Benjamin Rogers' Reserve*, and situated *on the Conewago Road* (the Baltimore and Hanover Road).

<sup>33</sup> Land Office, Annapolis, Patented Certificate No. 962, Baltimore Co. Castle Calder lay in Lord Baltimore's Reserve.

<sup>34</sup> James Calder, one time Deputy Surveyor of Baltimore County, was a considerable landowner. According to a particular Tax List of Gunpowder Upper and Mine Run Hundreds, Baltimore Co., 1798 (Md. Hist. Soc.), he owned 3836 $\frac{3}{4}$  acres in those parts. These lands were mostly, if not entirely, in Mine Run Hundred.

<sup>35</sup> The Northern Prong of the Great Falls meets the Western Prong (the "prong" on which Prettyboy Dam is situated) at Blue Mont. About  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile above Walker, the Northern Prong is formed by the union of the "Little Falls" and Bee Tree Run. Both of these streams rise in Pennsylvania.

<sup>36</sup> Walker's Station, formerly Walker's Mill, on the Northern Prong of the Great Falls of Gunpowder River. The beginning of Castle Calder and that of a tract of leased land called "Rattlesnake Den," surveyed for Joseph Cole, is at one and the same place. It is described as situated on the west side of the Northern Prong of Gunpowder Falls, "about North 75 degrees West 94 perches from Abraham Scott's Mill." Scott's title has not been traced. The mill was probably the same as that later known as Walker's. Walker's Mill stood on 776 acres called "Curfmanstadt," which was taken up by Daniel Curfman, and sold to Daniel Walker on Feb. 8, 1808. Curfman's widow, Barbara, released her dower to Walker. (Baltimore Co. Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 96, f. 552.) Daniel Walker had a log mill on this property by 1798. (Particular Tax List, Mine Run and Gunpowder Upper Hundreds, *loc. cit.*) On Griffiths' Map of Maryland, 1794, this mill is called "Kirkman's," a mistake for Curfman, of Kurfman.

<sup>37</sup> I had this information in 1915 from the late Mr. John Mays Little, of Parkton. Mr. Little, a descendant of Calder, expressed great surprise that Castle Calder could ever have been described as barren land. An attorney-at-law, he was a gentleman farmer and hunting man, who knew all that part of the county intimately. He told me that Castle Calder supported a heavy growth of timber.

<sup>38</sup> In the *Maryland Journal*, Nov. 20, 1793, Jesse Jarrett offers for sale 220 acres called "Jarrett's Intention," lying in Baltimore Co. "in the Barrens near Capt. James Calder and Daniel Kerfman," and described as "all wood". The land of Daniel Kurfman, or Curfman, "Curfmanstadt," adjoins "Castle Calder" on



The first endorsement is that of Edward Norris, of Joseph, the Surveyor. The others, all dated Baltimore Town, October 11, 1771, are those of three well informed gentlemen, who were called in to give their opinions:<sup>39</sup>

[1] Their is in this survey about forty acres of poor Marsh and about two acres of scrubby woods and bushy ground the rest Verry poor bare Barrens.

[2] I do hereby certify that I have been thro the within mentioned survey Two different times and Took notice that their was a Pretty Large Marsh or Glade that might be made into meddow, the up land (all I saw) was Barrense, hilly and stony, except a very few acres. [signed] Jn<sup>o</sup>. Merryman, Jun.

[3] I Do hereby Certify That I have Been throw the within Mentioned survey & Took Notice off the Quality of the Land, there is some Good Meadow Ground for to make But the up Land is Poore hilly Barrance & much broke with stone & Verry scarce of Timber. [signed] JaSterett

[4] I do hereby Certifie that I have been throw the best part of the within Mentioned survey and observed the Quality of the Land. There is about forty or fifty acres of glade commonly called medow ground, one third of which may be made into Tollerable good medow attended with great expense, being very flat and very difficult to take of the water. The up Land is exceedingly poor & much broke with stone and Little or no Timber of any sort. [Signed] Benjamin Rogers

*(To be continued in the June number.)*

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the north, and runs up Gunpowder Falls from Walker a mile and a quarer. The resurvey, made May 4, 1801, contains 875 acres, and calls for Bee Tree Run. (Land Office, Annapolis, Patented Certificate No. 1321, Baltimore Co.) The northernmost part of this survey must be very near Bentley. The author is of the opinion that the Barrens faded out on Bee Tree Run, short of the Pennsylvania Line. However, in old surveys there is evidence of barrens in those parts. The following notes are taken from an old manuscript styled "Survey Book of Baltimore County in the Province of Maryland—1771 with the signatures of Land holders of that time," in the Peabody Library, Baltimore. This was unquestionably James Calder's own survey book, although it does not bear his signature: (1) an undated survey made for Gibbs & Mason, calls for Bee Tree Run and its affluent, Green Spring Branch. The lines were run so as to "*throw out a quantity of Barrens on the North side of Aaron Gibbs Place.*" (2) A tract called "*Poor Hill,*" surveyed, March 18, 1782, for Gibbs and Mason, calls for Bee Tree Run, the mouth of Green Spring Branch, and for *Lone Tree branch*. The names in italics are significant. (3) "*Green Spring*" (no date) calls for Green Spring Branch, and *Lone Tree Branch*, both affluents of Bee Tree Run. (4) "*Maiden Hall*" (not dated; but resurvey bears date, April 11, 1782): the survey calls for "the great marsh" on Bee Tree Run above Green Spring and the lines were run so as to exclude "*all the bushy hill side,*" words suggestive of a common aspect of the Barrens. (Italics supplied.)

<sup>39</sup> Messrs. Merryman and Rogers were landowners, natives of the county. James Sterett had been a landowner in Lancaster County, Pa., as his father was before him. He came to Baltimore Town in 1761, and engaged in banking, brewing, and (with William Smith) in the shipping business.

# WILLIAM BRETTON OF NEWTOWN NECK, ST. MARY'S COUNTY

By EDWIN W. BEITZELL <sup>1</sup>

WILLIAM BRETTON, Gentleman, arrived in Maryland on January 12, 1637, accompanied by his wife Mary, his son William, aged four, his wife's parents Thomas Nabbs and his wife, and three servants, John Mansell, Richard Harris, and James Jelfe.<sup>2</sup> He became Clerk of the Lower House of the Assembly, Clerk of the Council, and Clerk of the Provincial Court.<sup>3</sup> He was also "Lord of the Manor" of Little Bretton,<sup>4</sup> Planter, Burgess, Lawyer, Judge, Coroner, and a leading Roman Catholic layman. It is evident that Bretton was a man of some means since he transported a number of people, was well-educated, and was referred

<sup>1</sup> Since the days of my boyhood, when I accompanied my parents to services at St. Francis Xavier's Church on Newtown Neck, this spot in St. Mary's Co. has been a source of fascination to me. In good weather my father would take his family by motor boat across St. Clement's Bay to the services. In grandfather's day the trip was made by sailboat. Many of my mother's people, for a number of generations, also had gone there since the water afforded them an easy means of transportation. Indeed, until the time when automobiles became commonplace there were well-worn paths leading from landing places on both sides of the "Neck" made by families living across Bretton Bay and St. Clement's Bay who came to the church by boat. These families also utilized their boats to attend the annual "festival," a gala day in the life of the parish. As I grew older, I set out to learn everything possible about the "Neck," William Bretton, the original owner, his manor house, and the old church. The account printed here is a result of this interest.

<sup>2</sup> "Land Notes, 1634-1655," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, V (1910), 167, 369-370, VII (1912), 187.

<sup>3</sup> D. M. Owings, *His Lordship's Patronage* (Baltimore, 1953), pp. 51, 135, 137, 139.

<sup>4</sup> D. M. Owings, "Private Manors: An Edited List," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXIII (1938), 308. "Little Bretton" was not a true manor, as Owings states, and is often confused with his Lordship's "Manor of Little Brittainne," of which it was a part. Although the bay to the east of Little Bretton is known as Bretton Bay it is probable that the original name was Brittainne, so named after his Lordship's Manor of Little Brittainne lying in Newtown Hundred. The words "Brittainne Bay" also appear in the Bretton deed, which is preserved in excellent condition in the Archives of the Society of Jesus, Maryland Province, at Woodstock College. However, both the words Bretton and Brittainne Bay are found in the early issues of the Archives of Maryland, in wills, deeds and other early records.

to as "Gentleman." From a review of the records it appears reasonable to assume that he was well known to the Calvert family and possibly was persuaded to come out to the Province to assume the Clerkships of the Council, the Assembly, and the Provincial Court. George Bretton, undoubtedly a relative, was transported in 1657 by Philip Calvert<sup>5</sup> and probably made his home at Newtown since he and William Bretton jointly witnessed the will of John Lloyd on July 27, 1658.<sup>6</sup>

On January 25, 1637, William Bretton attended the General Assembly held at St. Mary's City.<sup>7</sup> His first official act on record was the signing, as Clerk of the Council, of a copy of the order of the Lord Commissioners at Whitehall England, dated April 4, 1638, in the matter of Claiborne's petition regarding the Kent Island dispute with Lord Baltimore.<sup>8</sup> Although it is believed that he was functioning at the same time (and probably earlier) as Clerk of the Assembly and the Provincial Court it was not until October 12, 1640, that his signature appears on a Proclamation of the House of the Assembly as Clerk.<sup>9</sup> He made a number of appearances in the Provincial Court between January 25, 1637, and May 7, 1647, but it was not until this latter date that there is any indication that he is an official of the Court. On this date he recorded a bill for Edmond Smith. Subsequently, he signs as "Clk," is mentioned as "Register of the Court" on July 28, 1647, and "Clarke of the Court" on August 26, 1647.<sup>10</sup> It is interesting to note that Dr. William Hand Browne states that Liber Z covering the period December 30, 1637, to July 23, 1644, "is written in the court or record hand of the 17th century, and the writing, with the exception of the Inventory of May 24, 1639, p. 67, is identical throughout."<sup>11</sup> Dr. Browne comments that "all the business of the Province seems to have been recorded in this book up to October, 1642." He states also that it is probably the second book of records and the earliest *original* record book of the Province. Likewise, Dr. Browne comments that Liber P. R., an *original* record, covering the period August 2, 1642, to February

<sup>5</sup> "Early Settlers List," Md. Hist. Soc.

<sup>6</sup> Jane Baldwin (comp.), *Maryland Calendar of Wills*, I, 29.

<sup>7</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, I, 2.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 73.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 90.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 309-310, 323-324.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, I, "Calendar of State Archives," xiv. Italics supplied.

12, 1644/5 "is written throughout in one hand, which much resembles that of Z, though sometimes more minute."<sup>12</sup> Thus it seems reasonable to assume that Bretton was Clerk of the Assembly, Council, and Provincial Court beginning January, 1637. While it cannot be said, in the strict sense, that Bretton was the "first" Clerk of the Province it might reasonably be said that he was the "first Clerk of record," since apparently no records of Provincial proceedings prior to 1637 have survived.

On April 16, 1649, Bretton turned over his record books as Clerk of the Council to Thomas Hatton, Secretary of the Province.<sup>13</sup> His long service as Clerk of the Lower House of the Assembly ended in May, 1666, when he was paid 2500 pounds of tobacco for his services during that session.<sup>14</sup> His services as Clerk of the Provincial Court appear to have terminated in 1663 and in the same year he was appointed as a Commissioner of the Peace at Newtown, with reappointments until 1669.<sup>15</sup> In this latter year Bretton was appointed Coroner of St. Mary's County and does not appear again in the published records of the County after this year.<sup>16</sup>

The patent establishing the "Manor" of Little Bretton in Newtown Hundred states that William Bretton was granted

All that neck of land lying in Potowmeck River near over agt Heron Island and bounding on the South with the sd Potowmeck River on the west by St Clements Bay on the east with a Great Bay called Brittain Bay and on the North with a line drawne crosse the woods from St. Clements Bay unto the head of a little Creeke in Brittain Bay called St Nicholas Creeke where now goeth the hedge of the Said Willm Bretton the Said Necke containing in the whole Seven hundred & fifty acres or thereabouts To bee holden of vs & or heyres as of or Mannor of Little Brittain in free & common soccage by fflealty only for all services Guyen att St Maries this Tenth day of July in the year of our Lord 1640.<sup>17</sup>

Bretton apparently lost little time in settling on his land because it is mentioned in the patent and also in the survey dated

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, I, xvi. Italics supplied.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 230.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 151.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, XLIX, 199, 202, 210, 565, 571; III, 503, 540, 553; V, 33.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, LVII, 597, 609.

<sup>17</sup> File 100½Z, Archives of the Society of Jesus, Maryland Province, Woodstock College. This file also contains a second deed dated Jan. 12, 1658, for 100 additional acres ("Bretton's Outlet") taken up by Bretton, and the deed signed by Temperance and William Bretton transferring ownership of Little Bretton to Rev. Henry Warren, S. J., in 1668 for 40,000 pounds of tobacco.



June 29, 1640, that part of the boundary is "where now goeth the hedge of the Said Willm Bretton."<sup>18</sup> He also represented himself in the Provincial Court on August 3, 1642, as of "Little Bretton."<sup>19</sup> On November 1, 1643, Bretton witnessed an agreement between Cornelius Canedy, a brickmaker, and Thomas Gerard whereby Canedy agreed to make brick for Gerard for a period of three years,<sup>20</sup> and it is possible that Canedy had completed a similar contract with Bretton since there is plenty of good brick clay in the "Neck."

While proof is still lacking, it is believed that Bretton built the "manor" house originally of one and one-half stories, soon after taking up his land. When the "Manor" was sold to the Jesuits in 1668 the deed conveyed title to the "Edifices & buildings," as well as the land. No evidence has been found in the Jesuit archives at Woodstock College to indicate that the original Bretton house at Newtown was destroyed at any time, although the account books as far back as 1751 show entries for repairs and upkeep. The first sizable expenditure noted was in 1816 when Rev. Leonard Edelen, S. J., added a half-story to the house. There is, however, an entry dated September, 1788, in one of the Newtown ledgers for "makeing and burning 60,000 bricks" and also payments to "Negro James, bricklayer,"<sup>21</sup> but there is no indication as to what was built or repaired. If the house was destroyed by fire or by the British during the Revolutionary War, no mention of the fact has been found. Probably the bricks were used for repairs or for barns and other outbuildings. Old ledgers kept by the Jesuits contain many references to the Newtown "factory." This term is not explained in any way but is presumed to refer to such activities as the blacksmith shop, the weaving rooms, the stables for their blooded horses, the operation of the windmill for grinding grain, and the like. One entry notes that the 57,000 brick used by Father Edelen when adding the half-story to the house in 1816 cost him a total of \$88.50.

<sup>18</sup> "Land Notes, 1634-1655," *op. cit.*, V (1910), 370.

<sup>19</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, IV, 121.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, X, 213-214.

<sup>21</sup> See Note 17; also Files 2N, 6, 171B, 171D, and 171F.



"Little Bretton," now comprised of some 750 acres of land in Newtown Hundred, is a beautiful and rich neck of farm land reaching out to the Potomac River between Bretton Bay and St. Mary's County. As the name Newtown implies, it was the first village opened up after the Maryland colonists had settled at St. Mary's City, and it grew rapidly in size and importance.

It appears likely that Rev. Thomas Copley, S. J., who may have come out to Maryland at the same time as Bretton since he also was summoned to the Assembly<sup>22</sup> of January 25, 1637, was the first missionary to serve the people of Newtown for we find mention of him being at the head of St. Clement's Bay where he gathered his flock at the home of Luke Gardiner.<sup>23</sup> In addition to Luke Gardiner and William Bretton other residents of Newtown prior to 1670 mentioned in the *Archives of Maryland* are William Assiter, Richard Bancks, Dr. Luke Barber, Thomas Bassett, Ralph and Walter Beane, Joseph Cadle, Thomas Carpenter, Robert and William Cole, Thomas Conant, Edward Cotten, John Dandy, Thomas Diniard, William Evans, Henry Fox, John Greenway, John Greenwell, Walter Guest, Walter Hall, John Hammond, Barnaby and Thomas Jackson, John Jarboe, Robert Joyner, Philip Land, James Longworth, Richard Lloyd, Charles Maynard, John Medley, Robert Newchant, John Nunn, Christopher Oldfield, Walter Peake (Pakes), James Pettison, Bartholomew and Thomas Phillips, John Pile, George Reynolds, Paul Sympson, William Thompson, Robert Tutley, Francis Van Enden, Zachary Wade, and William Whittle.<sup>24</sup>

The St. Mary's County Court was established at Newtown in 1644, and the Court sessions were held at the Inn of John Hammond for some years.<sup>25</sup> Although the records prior to the early 1800s have been destroyed by fire many references to this Court are found in the records of the Provincial Court. Known Commissioners of the Peace between 1654 and 1670 who were residents of Newtown include Richard Bancks, Dr. Luke Barber,

<sup>22</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, I, 2. (See author's article, "Thomas Copley, Gentleman," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLVII [Sept., 1952], 209-223.—Ed.)

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, LVII, liv; also Rev. Wm. P. Treacy, *Old Catholic Maryland and Its Jesuit Missionaries* (1889), p. 59.

<sup>24</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, IV, 316, 371, 428, 502, 542; X, 13, 28, 29, 53, 91, 119, 141, 153, 190, 258, 321, 355, 544; LI, 28, 43, 46, 56, 62, 101, 126, 255, 522, 552; XLIX, 20, 54, 277, 540; LVII, 103, 145, 212, 228.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, LIII, xii; I, 232; X, 410.

Bretton, Col. William Evans, Luke Gardiner, John Jarboe, James Longworth, Richard Lloyd, and Thomas Matthews.<sup>26</sup>

Bretton is recorded in 1637 as being of St. Georges Hundred,<sup>27</sup> but on December 9, 1640, he complained to the Council that the Indians "have done him much spoil in his Swine" in St. Clements Hundred.<sup>28</sup> Apparently his home in Newtown Hundred was not completed until sometime in 1642 and on August 3, 1642, he is recorded as "William Bretton of little Bretton gent."<sup>29</sup> In addition to his important duties as Clerk of the Province he was given many other assignments. On January 19, 1646, he was commissioned to investigate the activities of Ralph Beane and "to Seize and bring to St. Inigo's ffort all wines and Hottwaters imported by the Said Ralph Beane" in St. Clement's or Newtown Hundred.<sup>30</sup> On January 27, 1647, he was made clerk of a special Committee appointed by the Governor to draw up a bill for the keeping of a garrison "att Cedar Poynt."<sup>31</sup> The following day although he was Clerk of the Assembly he joined the members of the Assembly (representing "four voyces"), in the famous protest that the laws of the previous Assembly "were not lawfully enacted for tht noe summons [was] issued out to all the Inhabts whereby their appearance was requyred by lawful authority."<sup>32</sup> His neighbor and friend Walter Peake (Pakes) of Newtown was a member of this Assembly. On March 1, 1647, he was appointed by the Governor as a member of a special committee to deal with the Scouts in the defense of the Province.<sup>33</sup> At various dates Bretton acted as attorney for William Lewis, Thomas Gerard, Margaret Brent, and James Neale in the Provincial Court.<sup>34</sup> On April 16, 1649, he joined with Walter Peake in furnishing bond in the amount of fifty thousand pounds of tobacco that Philip Land, High Sheriff of St. Mary's County, would justly execute his office.<sup>35</sup> Five days later, on April 21, 1649, the famous "Toleration Act" (An Act Concerning Re-

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, XLI, 340, 370, 476, 538, 575.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 8.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 95, 96.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 121.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 177.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 219.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 220.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 227.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 431, 477, 492, 529, 532; X, 105, 208; XLI, 237.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 482.

ligion) was passed; both Bretton and Peake were members of this Assembly. Other residents of Newtown who were members of this Assembly were John Pile and Lt. Richard Bancks.<sup>36</sup>

About 1653 Ralph Crouch, who later joined the Society of Jesus as a Lay-Brother, established a school at Newtown. This was made possible through a provision in the will of Edward Cotten,<sup>37</sup> which was probated on April 23, 1653, leaving personalty for the establishment of a school at Newtown at the discretion of the executors. In a letter dated September 4, 1662, Crouch stated "I affirme boldly allsoe that on my part I did (as appeared to all the neighbors) as much as lay in mee, fulfill the will of the Deceased [Cotten], in remoueing my teaching of schoole to the New Towne: & there was ready some yeares to teach, eyther Protestant or Catholikes. . . ." This school was in operation in 1662 as brought out in the trial of Rev. Francis Fitzherbert, S. J.,<sup>38</sup> and continued apparently at least until 1667 for in June of that year, Luke Gardiner filed an accounting of the estate of Robert Cole, of Newtown, which contained an item "To the Childrens Schooling, 2150 lbs. tob."<sup>39</sup>

On November 10, 1661, William Bretton, "with the hearty good likeing of my dearely beloved wife Temperance Bretton," gave an acre and a half of Little Bretton that their neighbors might have land to erect a church and establish a cemetery.<sup>40</sup> It is probable that this ground was originally the site of the private burial lot of the Bretton family since Mary Bretton, the first wife of William, had died some time prior to 1650. The cemetery is still in use. The date the first church was built at Newtown is clearly established in the record of the settling of the estate of Robert Cole, a carpenter, of Newtown. Cole's will was dated April 2, 1662, and was probated September 8, 1663.<sup>41</sup> His estate was administered by Luke Gardiner for the benefit of the orphan children and an accounting filed in court contained the following items:

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<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 237; IV, 308, 428; X, 119, 355.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, XLIX, 20; Baldwin, *op. cit.*, I, 7. Crouch previously had a school at St. Inigoes (St. Mary's City) which had been made possible by a bequest of Dr. Henry Hooper. See *Archives of Maryland*, X, 11, and Baldwin, *op. cit.*, I, 4.

<sup>38</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, XLI, 566-567.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, LVII, 206.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, XLI, 531.

<sup>41</sup> Baldwin, *op. cit.*, I, 25.

Debit — To Church Leavies	250 lb. Tob.
Credit — To the building of the church	532 lb. Tob. <sup>42</sup>

Since Cole died in 1663, apparently he had worked on the church in 1662. A later confirmation is contained in a deed December 1, 1666, whereby Thomas Covant agreed to make certain payments to George Reynolds "at the abode of him the said George Reynolds neare the Church or Chappell in Brettons."<sup>43</sup> The church, a wooden structure,<sup>44</sup> was located within the boundaries of the cemetery, when in the Summer of 1948 members of the Jarboe family were attempting to locate the burial plot of one of their ancestors who, according to an ancient family record, was buried in the cemetery a short distance from the steps of the church.

Records of the Bretton family are meager. After the death of his first wife, Mary Nabbs, William Bretton married Mrs. Temperance Jay of Virginia. The wedding probably occurred in 1650 or 1651.<sup>45</sup> The only mention of Bretton's son William has been noted previously when his father claimed land for transporting him from England. Since he does not again appear in the records, it is probable that he died before reaching manhood. The only other child found in the records is a daughter Mary, who married William Thompson of Newtown. Thompson died in January 1660, his wife Mary was named executrix, his father-in-law, William Bretton, was named administrator and the children (unnamed) were the sole legatees.<sup>46</sup>

In practically all accounts concerning William Bretton there is a story to the effect that he died a pauper and that his widow and children became objects of public charity. The writer believes this story is erroneous. This misinformation apparently is based on a statement contained in Ralph Crouch's letter, presented by Rev. Francis Fitzherbert, S. J., to the Provincial Court, which reads ". . . There was gyuen to Mr. Brettons sonne & Daughter an almes they being in Extremitie of wants. . . ." <sup>47</sup> The alms

<sup>42</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, LVII, 206.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, LVII, 209.

<sup>44</sup> W. S. Perry, *Papers Relating to the History of the Church in Maryland, 1694-1775* (1878), pp. 20-23.

<sup>45</sup> "Early Settlers List," *loc. cit.* *Archives of Maryland*, X, 41, 231. Westmoreland Co. Court Records, Montross, Va., deed signed by William and Temperance Bretton, dated March 28, 1655, witnessed by Thomas Gerard (Deeds and Wills Book No. I.)

<sup>46</sup> Baldwin, *op. cit.*, I, 23.

<sup>47</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, XLIX, 20.



were given sometime between 1653 when Crouch moved up to Newtown and 1659 when he returned to England.<sup>48</sup> By these dates Bretton's son, if living, would have been between 20 and 26 years of age. His daughter was a widow in 1660 with several children. Bretton was Clerk of both the Assembly and the Provincial Court during this period and a prominent and influential land holder. He gave land for the church and cemetery in 1661 and sold his estate in 1668 for 40,000 pounds of tobacco. There are no Provincial Court records that indicate any serious financial difficulty at any time. William Bretton was living in 1672 and Temperance as late as 1674. In view of these facts it is evident that Crouch erred in the name or was referring to another family of the same name. In the list of early Maryland settlers there are a number of Brettons (with variations in the spelling of the name) recorded who came to Maryland.

It is evident that both William and Temperance Bretton were devout Roman Catholics and were close to the Jesuit Fathers as indicated by their gift of land for the church and the sale of their "Manor" to provide a more central Catholic foundation at Newtown. Bretton got himself in considerable difficulty for calling Robert Burle (a Protestant) a "ffactions fellow uppon a motion which the sd Burle made in this howse, Concerning the settling of Ministers in Every County of this Province," and was obliged to make a public apology before the Assembly.<sup>49</sup> Subsequently, Bretton complained to the authorities that Robert Pennywell had broken the glass windows of the Chapel at St. Mary's City.<sup>50</sup>

Beginning in 1669 the only records found concerning William Bretton are found in the proceedings of the Charles County Court.<sup>51</sup> He was a testator in 1671 to the wills of James Lindsey and George Mainwaring both of Charles County<sup>52</sup> and transacted various items of business in the Charles County Court up to March 10, 1672. Temperance Bretton gave testimony at a Court held at St. Johns on September 18, 1674<sup>53</sup> The following item also was found in the Charles County records:

<sup>48</sup> Treacy, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

<sup>49</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, II, 86.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 610.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, LX, 215, 229, 230, 250, 260, 302, 396, 468.

<sup>52</sup> Baldwin, *op. cit.*, I, 61, 62.

<sup>53</sup> Liber 4A, f. 52, Charles Co. Court Records, La Plata,

William Thompson ye son of William and Mary Thompson of St. Mary's County, (she being ye daughter of William Bretton of St. Mary's County) was Joyned in ye state of Holy Matrimony with Victoria Matthews ye daughter of Thomas and Jane Matthews of Charles County ye 11 day of April in ye year of our lord 1681.<sup>54</sup>

This would seem to indicate that Bretton and his daughter Mary were living in St. Mary's County in 1681. It is the writer's theory, however, that Bretton moved to Charles County shortly after selling his "Manor" at Newtown in 1668, and died there some time in 1672 when he ceased to appear at the County Court. There are many small items that seem to point that way but a diligent search of the Charles County records has failed to substantiate this theory. The record of Bretton's will or an administrator's account apparently have been lost and we may never learn the final answer.

In his many years of public service Bretton was censored once for intemperate language<sup>55</sup> and on another occasion for indiscreet speech.<sup>56</sup> However, two such incidents in a lifetime of service surely should not mar his excellent record. William Bretton's long record of public service in the difficult early years of the Province speak well for him. There can be no doubt that he was an able man who performed faithful service.

<sup>54</sup> Liber Q, No. 1, f. 8, *ibid.*

<sup>55</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, II, 86.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 532.

# REVOLUTIONARY MAIL BAG: GOVERNOR THOMAS SIM LEE'S CORRESPONDENCE

## PART V

Edited by HELEN LEE PEABODY

(Continued from Vol. XLIX, No. 4, December, 1954, p. 331)

JAMES MCHENRY TO THOMAS SIM LEE <sup>1</sup>  
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Holt's forge, 1st Septr. 1781.  
3 o'clock P. M.

We are just going, my dear Governor, to begin the Campaign. Cornwallis is at York and Gloster; General Washington with the French troops and a large attachment from the American Army at, or near, the head of Elk; Count de Grasse in the Bay; and some of his frigates in James river. The armament is powerful in ships and land forces. I will not check your rejoicings on this happy event. It will only be necessary for us to remember that the stay of the fleet is to be very short. Do not let this be printed.

Adieu,

James McHenry.

His Excellency

Gov. Lee.

Count Barrass is also coming from Rhode Island with his squadron and the troops left on the Island.

CIRCULAR TO THE COMISSARIES OF THE SEVERAL COUNTIES  
(Hall of Records, Annapolis)


[September 5, 1781]


Yesterday Evening we received certain Intelligence by a French Cutter which arrived at Baltimore Town, that the French Fleet consisting of 28

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<sup>1</sup> Printed in *A Sidelight on History*, p. 60.

<sup>2</sup> Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLV, 603.

Ships of the Line and 4 Frigates came into our Bay on the 26<sup>th</sup> ult<sup>o</sup> and had landed 3000 Troops in Virginia. The Intelligence is confirmed as to the Arrival of the Fleet, by a Letter from Virginia from one of the Marquis Fayette's Family. There never has been a Time which required the Exertions of the State more than the present. The Fate of Lord Cornwallis and his Army will in a great Measure, depend upon them. Relying therefore on your Patriotism Zeal and Activity, we trust you will do every Thing in your Power to procure the Cattle heretofore ordered. Not a Moment is to be lost and to enable you to act with more Facility, and to ease the Inhabitants we have sent you  £ to pay, in Part for the Cattle, and you may inform the Persons of whom you get them, that the Residue shall be paid as soon as sufficient Subscriptions shall be received on which the Money is to issue. If you cannot procure the whole of the Cattle by Purchase and should meet with any Resistance or Difficulties in collecting them by seizure, you may employ Persons to assist you, and call on the Lieutenant of your County whom we have directed to order out as many of the Light Horse Militia to aid you in the Execution of this Order, as will be necessary.

 Money sent to each County:

To Somerset £ 1700 to Worcester 1700£ to Dorchester 1100£ to Talbot 950£ to Caroline 350£ to Queen Anns 950£ to Kent 800£ to Cecil 950£ to Harford 800£ to Baltimore 1100£ to Ann Arundel 500£ to Prince Georges 500£ to Charles 500£ to Saint Mary's 500£ to Calvert 500£ to Montgomery 800£ to Frederick 1100£ and to Washington 800£.

JAMES MCHENRY TO THOMAS SIM LEE <sup>3</sup>  
(T. S. Lee Collection)

678970

Williamsburg  
9th Sept. 1781.

My dear Sir:

The Marquiss is informed, but not officially, that on the 5th inst. Admiral Hood <sup>4</sup> made his appearance off the Cape with fourteen ships of the line, upon which the Count de Grasse gave him chase with twenty-two. In clearing the Cape, the Count was to leeward, but four of his best sailing ships got up with the English, and sustained an action of an hour against ten before they could be supported. At last ten others joined, when the engagement became heavy, incessant, and general till night. The British fleet retreated, and the French fleet were seen in close pursuit as long as the light would indulge observation. Col. Banister, <sup>5</sup> who gives this intelligence, says it is from an acquaintance of character, who was an eye-witness to the action from half past 3 o'clock till night. We expect soon to hear the event, and of the junction of Count Barrass's

<sup>3</sup> Printed in *A Sidelight on History*, p. 61.

<sup>4</sup> Sir Samuel Hood (1762-1814).

<sup>5</sup> Probably Lt. Col. John Banister (d. 1787), of Virginia.



squadron, which sailed sometime since from Rhode Island. Every new hour, at this period, becomes more important than the last. There is much to hope, but we are not without something to fear. Adieu.

James McHenry.

His Excellency

Governor Lee.

To be forwarded by the chain of express.

JAMES MCHENRY TO THOMAS SIM LEE <sup>6</sup>  
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Williamsburg  
14th Sept. 1781.

My dear Sir:

As we have no account of the return of the fleet, nor anything very interesting from his Lordship save that his works must soon render him invisible, I will tell your excellency what General Greene <sup>7</sup> was doing on the 26th of last month. He was then on his march to Fridays ferry, collecting the militia, in order to give the enemy battle. I shall only add another paragraph from Gen. Greene's letter. "We have intercepted a great many of the enemy's letters. Those from Virginia and Charlestown mentioned Gen. Leslie's <sup>8</sup> coming to take the command in this quarter, which induces me to believe Lord Cornwallis either expects to be made Commander-in-Chief or has further operations in contemplation in Virginia or Maryland. One of the letters mentions an embarkation of three thousand troops for Baltimore."

I have the honor to be your Excellency's most obst.

James McHenry.

His Excellency

Gov. Lee

JAMES MCHENRY TO THOMAS SIM LEE <sup>9</sup>  
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Williamsburg,  
15th Sept. 1781

Everything, my dear Sir, is as it should be. Yesterday morning his Excellency the General arrived in camp, and early this morning we had the account of the return of the Count de Grasse, accompanied by the Rhode Island fleet. The action mentioned to you was of very little consequence, and yet the French lost five or six officers.

<sup>6</sup> Printed in *A Sidelight on History*, p. 62.

<sup>7</sup> Nathanael Greene (1742-1786).

<sup>8</sup> Alexander Leslie, of the British Army.

<sup>9</sup> Printed in *A Sidelight on History*, p. 63.

Admirals Graves <sup>10</sup> and Hood displayed twenty ships of the line, and the Count de Grasse only twenty-two, having left the other six for the protection of the Bay. The English saved themselves, as it is said we have sometimes done, by running away.

Count de Grasse brought in with them the Iris and the Richmond, which he found cruising on the Capes.

So far, our affairs assume the most prosperous aspect, but when we reflect that War is like an April day, it will temper our mind to disappointment; notwithstanding, there has been no enterprize of ours attended with so happy and promising a combination of circumstances.

Respectfully and full of attachment, I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's most Obst.

James McHenry

His Excellency

Gov. Lee

GEORGE WASHINGTON TO THOMAS SIM LEE <sup>11</sup>

(Washington MSS, Library of Congress)

Head Quarters Williamsburgh

Sept. 15, 1781

Sir,

Your Excellency has been acquainted, that on Information of the Sailg. of the Fleet from the Capes, I had given Orders to the Troops which were embarked to stop the Proceeding.

I am now happy to inform your Excellency, that the Count de Grasse has returned to his former Station at Camp, having driven the British fleet from the Coasts, formed a Junction with the Squadron of Count de Barras, and captured two British Frigates; the Bay being thus secure, I have given Orders for the Troops to proceed with all possible Dispatch to the Point of Operations.

I am distressed, my Dear Sir, to find on my Arrival, that the Supplies for the Army collectg here are not in the desirable Train, that could be wished; they have already experienced Want of Provisions, and are greatly apprehensive for the Prospect in future, particularly with Articles of Bread.

All the Flour within your Reach, should be immediately forwarded down, which may I think be speedily done, now that the Navigation of the Bay is secured.

I beg, Sir, that not a moment be lost in furnishg us with every Supply within your Power; happily our Prospects of Success are most promising, if the Fleet will remain with us; if we are not Wanting in our own Exertions.

<sup>10</sup> Baron Thomas Graves (ca. 1725-1802).

<sup>11</sup> Printed in Fitzpatrick, *Washington*, XXIII, 115-116.

An Army cannot be kept together without Supplies; if these fail us, our Operations must cease, and all our high Hopes Will Vanish into Disappointment and Disgrace.

With great regard and Esteem

I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's Most Ob. Sert—

G. Washington

P. S. If your Excellency can assist me in procuring some Axes or Hatchets and Intrenching Tools of all kinds, it will be a great Advantage. We shall have much occasion for tools of this sort, and I find almost a Total want here, it will be difficult to make a Collection from a small Compass.

JAMES MCHENRY TO THOMAS SIM LEE <sup>12</sup>

(T. S. Lee Collection)

15th Sepr. 1781.

My dear Sir:

Let me add a line to what I wrote your Excellency this morning. General Washington has sent an express to the troops embarked, and those at Annapolis and Baltimore, by water, to tell them that the Bay is clear and to hasten their sailing. If it has not arrived, it might not be improper to convey this information to the Commanding Officer, that no time may be lost, where time is so very precious.

I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's most obst.

James McHenry.

His Excellency

Gov. Lee

THOMAS SIM LEE TO THOMAS NELSON <sup>13</sup>

(Hall of Records, Annapolis)

Sept. 21<sup>st</sup> 1781

Annapolis Friday Noon

In Council

Sir:

This Moment, Major General the Baron Viomeniel completed the Embarkation of the French Troops under his Command, destined for Head Quarters in Virginia; Part of their Baggage only goes by Water, the Remainder is sent by Land.

<sup>12</sup> Printed in *A Sidelight on History*, p. 64.

<sup>13</sup> Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLV, 621. Thomas Nelson (1738-1789) served as Governor of Virginia in 1781.

Apprehensive of danger from the Enemy after the Waggon's pass Fredericksburg, the Baron desired me to solicit your Excellency to afford Guards of Militia for its Protection from thence to Williamsburg. The Baggage will be at Fredericksburg about the 26<sup>th</sup> of this Month, and at Head Quarters, if no accident happens, the first of next.

With sentiments of very great  
personal respect and Esteem

I have the honor to be  
etc. etc.

Tho: S. Lee

JAMES MCHENRY TO THOMAS SIM LEE <sup>14</sup>

(T. S. Lee Collection)

Camp before York  
2d October, 1781

My dear Sir:

Your congratulations are without compliment, and this makes them with me of the last value.<sup>15</sup> I should thank you for a thousand things in which your services must have been active; but I will do what is better in itself; I will endeavor to deserve your good will and friendship.

Let me refer you to Col. Forrest for news. I have only to add, that we have two small works in forwardness—and that the enemy have fired and continue to fire on them from their batteries, but have not killed us four men. Perhaps we shall begin upon our trenches tomorrow night.

The French fleet remain in the Bay and do not intend going out before we have closed the siege.

Affectionately and sincerely I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's most obst.

James McHenry

His Excellency  
Gov. Lee

<sup>14</sup> Printed in *A Sidelight on History*, pp. 64-65.

<sup>15</sup> Governor Lee's letter to McHenry not located. Apparently the Governor had congratulated him on his election (on September 17) to the State Senate; see B. C. Steiner, *Life and Correspondence of James McHenry* (Cleveland, 1907), p. 41, as well as the next McHenry letter.



JAMES MCHENRY TO THOMAS SIM LEE <sup>16</sup>  
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Camp before York,  
3d October, 1781.

I have sent you, my dear Sir, an express with the news, but as another opportunity offers, and as Col. Forrest thought a letter necessary respecting my election as Senator, I have given the second. All this, however, is giving you a great deal of trouble, but I know you will not be displeased. We have not heard from General Greene since his victory of Sept. 8th. You know that it was obstinate and bloody; that he drove the enemy four miles—that he took between three and four hundred prisoners—that nothing could exceed the bravery of the Maryland and Virginia troops—that all his troops behaved well—and that he was taking measures to oblige the enemy to leave their position at the Brick house at the Eaton springs, or to force them to surrender in it. If we are successful in this quarter, we may then talk of the gulph from which we have been snatched.

Very sincerely, I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's most obst.

James McHenry

His Excellency  
Gov. Lee

JAMES MCHENRY TO THOMAS SIM LEE <sup>17</sup>  
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Camp before York.  
6th October 1781

My dear Sir,

I have not a moment to spare, and therefore inclose you General Greene's private detail of his last action, because I know there are passages in it which must be highly gratifying to your Excellency.

Tonight we begin to work upon our first parallel. This siege will be a very anxious business.

The Duke's legion has had a little affair with Col. Tarleton on the

<sup>16</sup> Printed in *A Sidelight on History*, pp. 65-66.

<sup>17</sup> Printed in *A Sidelight on History*, pp. 66-67.

Gloster side. The Duke<sup>18</sup> drove him into Gloster; killed and wounded about fifty of his men, with the loss of two killed and eleven wounded.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest attachment,

Your Excellency's most obst.

James McHenry

His Excellency  
Gov. Lee

JAMES MCHENRY TO THOMAS SIM LEE<sup>19</sup>  
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Camp before York  
9th Oct. 1781

My dear Sir:

I know your anxiety and I attempt to lessen it by every opportunity. I think I have told you that we opened our trenches between the 6th and 7th. The first parallel is nearly completed, and some batteries will be in readiness to play upon the enemy's works this afternoon.

It was originally intended to wait until eighty pieces of cannon and mortars could be brought to operate, but a better acquaintance with circumstances has changed this plan for the number we have at present prepared; these may be about twenty.

As yet, my Lord has scarcely disturbed us, his firing having only killed and wounded about sixteen.<sup>20</sup>

It is now, however, that we shall have more serious business. Our second parallel may require us to be in possession of two strong works, which defend the right and left of the enemy, and which it may be necessary for us to carry by storm.

I have great confidence in our troops, and you may have as great. One hears no complainings, although the duty is not very light.

A major general and his division mounts the trenches twenty four hours in every three days; and this is a place in which few men wish to sleep.

In fine, every corps is desirous of distinguishing itself, and in military matters, as your Excellency knows, this is always a good presage.

The French ships in York river will make forward move as soon as the wind and tide are favorable. At present, it is not intended to pass the enemy's batteries.

With the greatest respect. I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obst.

James McHenry.

His Excellency  
Gov. Lee

<sup>18</sup> Armand-Louis de Gontaut Biron, Duc de Lauzun (1747-1793).

<sup>19</sup> Printed in *A Sidelight on History*, pp. 67-68.

<sup>20</sup> Lord Cornwallis.

JOHN HANSON TO THOMAS SIM LEE  
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Philadelphia Oct.<sup>o</sup> 9<sup>th</sup> 1781

Dear Sir

I am favoured with yours of the 5<sup>th</sup> and shall allways think my self honored by your Agreeable Correspondence, and be very thankful for any Intelligence you may at any time think proper to communicate. My Stay here is uncertain, it depends upon the next Election of Delegates to Congress, and in these Cases you know, no great reliance is to be put in popular assemblies, but be assured while I Continue your Attention. We have no news to be depended on, nothing but Vague and uncertain reports. No Accounts yet from General Green of the late Action. We are Anxiously waiting an Express from him. it is now a month since it is said the Action happened, and no official Accounts having Come to hand, Occasions some uneasiness, however I hope all has gone well. I have the pleasure to Acquaint you that we have Just Received at Casco Bay from Amsterdam A very large quantity of Cloathing for our Army With a Considerable quantity of Continental war-like Stores. The Enemy remain on Staten Island alltogether inactive—for further Intelligence I beg leave to refer you to the papers which I presume Mr. Carroll<sup>21</sup> has sent you. And have the honor to be with much esteem & regard

Y<sup>r</sup>. Excellency's Most hble Serv<sup>t</sup>

John Hanson

[Addressed:] His Excellency Tho<sup>s</sup>. Sim Lee Esq<sup>r</sup>.  
Governor of Maryland

[Endorsed:] J. Hanson

9<sup>th</sup>. Oct<sup>r</sup>. 1781

JAMES MCHENRY TO THOMAS SIM LEE<sup>22</sup>  
(T. S. Lee Collection)

10th October 1781

My dear Sir:

This morning the French and American batteries act with great spirit and fire. But we shall be more eloquent before evening, as we shall speak with about fifty pieces. The enemy's answers are weak and without effect.

It appears, however, as if they intended soon to give them more de-

<sup>21</sup> Daniel Carroll (1730-1796), then a Maryland delegate to the Continental Congress.

<sup>22</sup> Printed in *A Sidelight on History*, p. 69.

cision, having been employed last night in bringing from a frigate, and one of their batteries, a number of heavy canon.

With great respect, I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's most obst.

James McHenry.

His Excellency  
Governor Lee

JAMES MCHENRY TO THOMAS SIM LEE <sup>23</sup>  
(T. S. Lee Collection)

October 11th. [1781]

Last night, which was our night in the trenches, we thought to have had the pleasure of opening the second parallel; but we were disappointed; and it will be commenced tonight by the Baron Steuben's division, of which the Maryland troops compose a part.

Some of our red-hot shot and shells set fire last night to the Charon and two transports, which were entirely burnt. We have killed a number of the enemy and deranged some of their works, but till the batteries of the second parallel can be opened, we do not expect any very important effects.

Notwithstanding the vigilance of the French fleet, a small vessel from New York landed Major Gordon <sup>24</sup> and another officer of the same rank yesterday morning at York. They bring dispatches, but we do not learn their nature. They talk, however, in the British lines that an essay will be made for their relief.

I have had the pleasure of seeing Mr. Fitzhugh <sup>25</sup> today, and of your letter. There is not a service which I can render him, with General Greene, which he will not receive.

Respectfully, and with the greatest attachment,

I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's most obst.

James McHenry

His Excellency  
Gov. Lee

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70.

<sup>24</sup> Sir Charles Gordon (1756-1835).

<sup>25</sup> Probably Lt. Col. Peregrine Fitzhugh (d. 1839), of Virginia.



GEORGE WASHINGTON TO THOMAS SIM LEE <sup>26</sup>

(Hall of Records, Annapolis)

Headquarters Before York.

October 12th 1781

To Gov<sup>er</sup> Lee

Sir:

I was yesterday honored with Your Excellency's favor of the 3<sup>d</sup>.<sup>27</sup>

Give me leave to return you my sincerest thanks for your exertions on the present occasion.

The supplies furnished by the State are so liberal, that they remove every apprehension of Want.

Colo. Blaine <sup>28</sup> has gone himself over to the Eastern shore to see that the Cattle from thence are brought down to the proper landings where they will be slaughtered, and the Meat sufficiently salted to be transported by Water; proper measures have been taken by the Commissaries to receive the Cattle of the Western Shore, and to have them driven by Land.

Arrangements have also been made to send up the Craft for Flour, as fast as they discharge their lading of Stores.

I will desire Colo. Stewart <sup>29</sup> to send up all the empty Flour Barrells that can be made of further use.

We opened our first parallel on the night of the 6th. and established it compleatly with a lost too trifling to mention.

Our Shells have done considerable damage to the Town, and our fire from the Cannon has been so heavy and well directed against the embrazures of the Enemy's Works, that they have been obliged, during the day, to withdraw their Cannon, and place them behind the Merlens.

The Charon of forty-four guns, and two large Transports have been burnt by Hot Balls. The Guns and Stores had been previously taken out of the Frigate.

We last night advanced our second Parallel within 300 yards of the Enemy's Works, without the least annoyance from them.

Lord Cornwallis's conduct has hitherto been passive beyond conception; he either has not the means of defence, or he intends to reserve himself until we approach very near him.

A few days may determine whether he will or will not give us much trouble.

I have the honor to be, with great respect

Your Excellen<sup>cy</sup>'s most Ob<sup>t</sup>. Ser<sup>t</sup>.

Go. Washington

<sup>26</sup> Printed in Fitzpatrick, *Washington*, XXIII, 209-210; see also *Calendar of Maryland State Papers—The Brown Books* (Annapolis, 1948), No. 534.<sup>27</sup> Governor and Council to Washington, October 3, 1781, is printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLV, 632-633.<sup>28</sup> Probably Ephraim Blaine (d. 1804), of Pennsylvania, Commissary General of Purchases.<sup>29</sup> Probably Charles Stewart (d. 1800), of New Jersey, Commissary of Issues.

JAMES MCHENRY TO THOMAS SIM LEE  
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Lines before York,  
15th October, 1781

My dear Sir:

I am much fatigued by three days and two successive night's duty; but not quite so much as to prevent me from congratulating your Excellency on the success of our enterprize against two of the enemy's redoubts on the extreme of their left.

About 7 o'clock after sunset, the light infantry under the Marquiss stormed the work to which they were opposed with great bravery and decision.

The French grenadiers, who carried the second, I am told, have not suffered us to be their superior. Their loss is about 74 wounded and six killed; ours, in all, about 38.

The former had to contend with the most numerous garrison. Several officers were wounded, but not one dangerously.

Gimat is in the number.<sup>31</sup> The greatest part of each garrison found means to escape, so that our prisoners do not exceed sixty. Col. Hamilton had command of the party.<sup>32</sup>

Col. Laurens, who commanded a regiment, took the Major, (Campbell), of the redoubt we assailed.<sup>33</sup> The French possessed themselves of two royals. We found only a dismounted cannon and a barrell of hand grenades.

We employed the rest of the night in extending the second parallel to the two redoubts, and in forming a covered way to the rest. By tomorrow we expect to open some batteries within two hundred yards of his Lordship.

As we approach, his fire has increased. He does not, however, appear, to have many mortars or howitzers, but from what he has, his fire of shells is incessant.

It is now also his sorties will commence.

Most respectfully, I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's obst.

James McHenry.

His Excellency  
Gov. Lee

<sup>30</sup> Printed in *A Sidelight on History*, pp. 71-72.

<sup>31</sup> Chevalier de Gimat, a Lieutenant Colonel in the French forces.

<sup>32</sup> Alexander Hamilton (1755-1804), of New York.

<sup>33</sup> Probably John Laurens (d. 1782), of South Carolina. See Christopher Ward, *The War of the Revolution* (New York, 1952), II, 892, for reference to Major Campbell, a British officer.

JOHN HANSON TO THOMAS SIM LEE  
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Philadelphia Oct<sup>r</sup>. 16<sup>th</sup> 1781

My Dear Governor

I have the honor of yours of the 12<sup>th</sup>. no Express is yet Arrived from General Green—if he Comes by Water it may be Accounted for as the winds for some days past have been Contrary. I wish to see a particular Account of the Killed and Wounded but at the same time am fearful for our line. it is reported that Col<sup>o</sup> Howard is Killed—<sup>34</sup>

From undoubted intelligence the British have been reinforced since the late engagement with Count de Grasse with six Ships of the line & that their fleet now Consists of twenty nine Ships of the line. Mr Carroll <sup>35</sup> and I had the honor of inclosing you Copys of some papers by Express which I hope you received, by which you are made Acquainted with the designs of the Enemy to relieve Lord Cornwallis by advices. Since the Troops they take with them Amount to upwards of 5000—Their fleet is very formidable, and tho' Considerably inferior to the french, yet as so much depends upon the Issue of their enterprize, I must Confess my fears are some what Excited—but hope for the best. The Account of the Arrival of Cloathing and Stores to the Eastward, which I mentioned in my last, it seems is premature. Some Agreeable intelligence from the Southward is Contained in the last paper, to which I refer you—And Am with the highest Sentiments of esteem and regard

Dear Sir, Your Excellency's most hble Serv<sup>t</sup>

John Hanson

[Addressed:] His Excellency Tho<sup>s</sup> Sim Lee Esq<sup>r</sup>  
Governor of Maryland

[Endorsed:] J. Hanson  
16<sup>th</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup> 1781

*(To be concluded in the June number.)*

<sup>34</sup> The report about John Eager Howard was, of course, erroneous.

<sup>35</sup> See Note 21.

## MARYLAND BIBLIOGRAPHY: 1954

THE fourth annual Maryland bibliography is printed in this issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*. Earlier bibliographies appeared in the three preceding March numbers. The principles of selection previously used apply in this year's compilation. Materials in this *Magazine*, the *Maryland History Notes*, current government publications, and undocumented newspaper articles are specifically omitted. Grateful acknowledgment for assistance is made to the staff of the Maryland Department, Enoch Pratt Free Library.

Attention of our readers is invited to *Writings on American History*, now edited by James R. Masterson, which includes sections on Maryland history. Volumes for 1948 and 1949 are in the Library of the Society, and the 1950 volume can be expected to appear in due course.

The entries which follow are listed alphabetically under four headings: I. Books; II. Pamphlets and Leaflets; III. Articles; and IV. Theses and Dissertations. (*Entries under III. Articles are listed alphabetically by publication.*)

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## REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

*Archives of Maryland, Volume LXVI.* (Proceedings of the Provincial Court of Maryland, 1675-1677.) Edited by ELIZABETH MERRITT. Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1954. xxi, 541 pp. \$5. (To members of the Society, \$3.)

Historians of American law, along with social historians, have cause for rejoicing in the continuing publication of that invaluable series of records of Maryland's central court which begin in 1637. In all, forty years of the records of the Provincial Court are now available in print, and they constitute an extensive record of judicial activity for the 17th century, a record unmatched in the publications of any other of the Original Thirteen States.

Although the Provincial Court was looked upon in Maryland as having the powers of the central courts of England and in bearing somewhat the same relation to the county courts as the central courts in England bore to the county courts of that country, little appellate jurisdiction seems to have been exercised by the Provincial Court during this period. Only four cases came up from the lower courts on appeal, and these were not all decided in the present published record. Most cases came up under the court's original concurrent jurisdiction. During this period the Provincial Court and the Chancery Court, with the same judges, conducted business without clear separation of jurisdiction. On a number of occasions in this record the Provincial Court did not hesitate to exercise equity powers, notably in the complex case of Captain Thomas Peighen.

To a historian of the law the salient characteristic of this record, despite a certain informality in pleading and a tendency to mix common law and equity remedies to suit the needs of the case, is the general acceptance by litigants and the court of the applicability of the common law of England to Maryland. A comparison of the work of the Massachusetts central court for the same period would reveal far more legal innovations, far less deference to English precedent. One of the most interesting cases involving arguments derived from English cases is also one of the very few to go up on appeal to the Upper House of the Assembly. That was the suit which John Wedge brought against James Ringgold for false arrest or defamation on a charge of stealing eight barrels of Indian corn (p. 208). Wedge won a jury verdict for some 12,000 lbs. of tobacco. Arguing a motion in arrest of judgment, Ringgold's counsel cited Hutton's and Croke's Reports to show that it was lawful to apprehend a felon or search on suspicion of felony. Since these cases were not really pertinent to the issue of defamation, the court properly held the argument insufficient to arrest judgment but permitted Ring-

gold to appeal on writ of error. Again in *Creycroft v. Carville* (pp. 424, 425) the court held that the jury, not the court, were judges of fact in accordance with traditional separation of functions.

Although the volume covers the years of Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia which had strong overtones in Maryland, there is no evidence in the record either of an unusual degree of disorder or lawlessness or of especially poor economic conditions. In the first place, virtually no criminal cases came up. One of the few was a case of suicide where the felon's personal estate was confiscated but not his lands. Again, so far as these central court records go, master-servant relations appear to have been comparatively smooth. Only one instance of the abuse of a servant appears in the record, and that is the petition of Elizabeth Griffin, a redemptioner, who charged that she was being mistreated by her deceased purchaser's widow, Mistress Abberdine. She petitioned that her mistress had denied her sufficient meat and other necessities, "nor every suffering her to be at quiet but with unmercifull blowes and other hard usage making her incapable of doing that service which she doth most rigorously expect from the petitioner." Some day some one will try to ascertain why it was that colonial mistresses were much harder on women servants than masters. William Byrd's *Secret Diary* offers suggestive clues on that score. In Elizabeth's case the court ordered the petitioner and her mistress to appear before two commissioners, one of whom was a justice of the court, who were empowered "to enquire into the premisses and to doe according to right and justice in this behalfe." In fact, it would seem that, considering the harsh servant code in force in Maryland at that time, a code under which servants were still being sentenced to serve ten days for every day's unauthorized absence, labor seems to have gotten a fair deal from courts presided over by employers. Servants appear to have been awarded their freedom when they were entitled to it, and to have been adjudged to serve shorter terms when they could show that they came in under indenture instead of by the custom of the country.

These records continue to furnish insights into the level of education prevailing in the province. In one inquisition seven jurors out of twelve sign with a mark (p. 8); in another, five out of twelve (pp. 49, 50), suggesting an illiteracy rate similar to that of the neighboring tobacco province of Virginia but far higher than that prevailing in New England for this period.

These and many other matters of social and economic history are revealed in the record, which shows at every point the adherence to high editorial standards by Miss Elizabeth Merritt, who, in addition, has provided us with a useful and illuminating introduction to the volume. It is praise enough, perhaps, to say that the volume is edited and published with that same meticulous fidelity to the original record that has characterized the entire series to date and given it the stamp of authority as a source collection.

RICHARD B. MORRIS

*Columbia University*



*David Bailie Warden, A Bibliographical Sketch of America's Cultural Ambassador in France, 1804-1845.* Institut Français de Washington, 1954. 44 pp.

It is not often that a sketch of the length Mr. Haber has written opens up so many avenues for both reflection and further research. The reason is that David Bailie Warden, though a mere name to most American historians today, was an indefatigable servant of scientific and scholarly causes in his own day and left voluminous records of his activity that need only to be sampled to suggest how much remains to be told about our early cultural history.

Warden was one of that remarkable band of United Irishmen who sought refuge in the United States at the close of the 18th century. He tried his hand at schoolmastering, chemistry, and medicine; held minor posts in the American diplomatic and consular service until his volatile temperament got him into trouble with his colleagues; and then settled down in Paris to write and translate scholarly books, collect Americana, and serve unofficially but with brilliant success as "resident ambassador to the Court of Letters." His American correspondents included Presidents Jefferson and Madison, Joel Barlow, Samuel Latham Mitchell, George Ticknor, Peter Du Ponceau, Nathaniel Bowditch, Joseph C. Cabell, Jared Sparks, and nearly all the learned societies and institutions in the young United States. He aided Bishop Grégoire in his pioneer work on Negro culture, and Alexander von Humboldt in his geographical writings. The first library he amassed was sold *en bloc* to Harvard, and his second to the New York State Library. He compiled several statistical and descriptive works that provided Europeans with a great part of what they knew about Warden's adopted country in the first half of the 19th century. One of these was the extraordinary *Chronologie historique de l'Amérique* (Paris, 1826-1845), in ten volumes, which has fallen into neglect simply because no publisher would venture to issue so exhaustive a work in English.

Warden's correspondence, papers, and memoranda are extant in two large collections in the Maryland Historical Society and in the Library of Congress respectively, that of the Society being the more voluminous. Mr. Haber has furnished an excellent guide to the riches in both collections by outlining Warden's varied and important accomplishments. Is it too much to hope that a substantial selection of the letters and papers themselves may soon be edited and published? Such a work would plug many gaps in our knowledge of European-American cultural exchange in a period that has been little investigated by intellectual historians.

L. H. BUTTERFIELD

*Massachusetts Historical Society*

*Rebel Rose, Life of Rose O'Neal Greenhow, Confederate Spy.* By ISHBEL ROSS (Mrs. Bruce Rae). New York: Harper Brothers, 1954. xiii, 294 pp. \$4.

Every Marylander, especially those who had Confederate antecedents, will welcome this book which quite amply fills out the tale told by Col. Louis A. Sigaud in the September, 1948, issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*. "Rebel Rose" was an indubitable daughter of Maryland, both Charles and Montgomery counties having been scenes of her earlier years. But from the time she entered her aunt's boarding house on Capitol Hill she was a dominant figure in Washington life, whether she stayed there, in Mexico or in California, or, as was the case after August 23, 1861, in a Union prison. Therefore, life in the Capital is the theme of nearly half the book and Mrs. Rae, in portraying that life of intrigue and fashion, paints almost as kaleidoscopic a picture as Margaret Leech did in *Reveille in Washington* fourteen years ago. William E. Doster's *Lincoln and Episodes of the Civil War* and Mrs. Greenhow's own *My Imprisonment* are documents vital to the story here told by Mrs. Rae but she has not stopped there, having read through the National Archives records, interviewed a surviving grandchild, now resident in Maryland, and ransacked county courthouses as well as the resources of the Hall of Records. But the book does not suffer from mustiness, far from it. "Rebel Rose," even as she drowns in death for the Confederacy, remains a bright irresistible person as indeed she must have been to include such rigorous Abolitionists as Abigail Adams within a circle that contained Generals Beauregard, Lee, McLellan, and Scott as well as Jefferson Davis, James Buchanan, John C. Calhoun and the grafter and scoundrel Jose Y. Limantour. A reviewer can but hope that this book has a wider audience than most popularized biographies and that, for the sake of those today who have no concept of the feelings of a true pro-Southerner (from 1861 to 1865), the trans-mogrification from book to movie—an inevitable matter—does not sully the charm of Mrs. Rae's splendid work.

ROGER THOMAS

*Hall of Records*

*Soldiers of the American Army, 1775-1954.* By FRITZ KREDEL and FREDERICK P. TODD. Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1954. \$12.50.

Few khaki-clad inductees of our modern army realize that they are the lineal descendants of a galaxy of anonymous heroes ranging from the buckskin-clad rifleman of the Continental Army to the varnished constabularyman of war-torn Berlin. However, the story is vividly unrolled in the new edition of *Soldiers of the American Army, 1775-1954* with colored plates by Fritz Kredel and text by Frederick P. Todd.

Mr. Kredel, a distinguished German military artist now living in New

York, and Colonel Todd, director of the West Point Museum and an eminent military scholar, have produced a history of our military past that is at once concise and inclusive, graphic and readable. Many units in which Maryland troops played an illustrious part are represented, and the rich resources of our Historical Society have been tapped in several instances to provide important details of their actual appearance in the field.

A wise selection has been made to include the most colorful and picturesque soldiers of our heritage such as Baylor's Dragoons, and "Congress' Own" of the Revolution; Wayne's Infantry of the Legion of 1795; the 6th U. S. Infantry of Chippewa fame; the Texas Rangers and Mississippi Rifles of the Mexican War, not to mention Bragg's (originally Ringgold's) famous Flying Artillery; "Jeb" Stuart's Cavalry of the Confederacy and Duryea's Zouaves of the Union Army; Custer's 7th Cavalry; The Philadelphia City Troop and The Richmond Blues; Teddy Roosevelt's Rough Riders; the Pioneers of the AEF, and the Paratroops, and Rangers of World War II. They are all here, in lifelike attitudes. Their story, though carefully documented, is a stirring one.

ANNE S. K. BROWN

*Knickerbocker Birthday: A Sesqui-Centennial History of the New-York Historical Society, 1804-1954.* By R. W. G. VAIL. New York: The Society, 1954. xix, 547 pp. \$6.

Dr. Vail, the learned Director of the New-York Historical Society, has produced an informal and delightful account of the first 150 years of the organization he heads. By its means he has demonstrated effectively what is little known and less seen in practice, that a book may be a mass of accurate material and yet be so organized and written as to be interesting, entertaining, and highly instructive withal.

*Knickerbocker Birthday* begins with the imaginary walk of John Pintard from his home on Duane Street to the old City Hall on November 20, 1804. On that day a group of his friends, led by him, there planned the organization of the New-York Historical Society. During the walk the author is able to give a description of New York as it then was, and of John Pintard himself, the rubicund City Corporation Clerk and Inspector. The History of the Society ends with no less than one hundred and seventeen pages providing accounts of its outstanding festivities. These vary from simple ceremonies where historians have been honored, to banquets which would have impressed the kermesse hardened founders of New Amsterdam. They provide pleasant evidence of the Society's growth in size and importance. But the message of the book is contained in the twenty-four chapters—one for each president—which trace the Society from its precarious beginnings to its present flourishing state.

The account of each presidency begins with a quick summary of the leading historic events of the period. Then follow developments within the Society itself—its moves from building to building, ending in its present magnificent home, its acquisitions of antiquities, works of art and historical papers, its scholarly publications, widespread educational work among the young, and accumulation of an immense endowment to perpetuate its activities.

Despite the playful style in which all this is recorded, there is shown in the basic policies of the Society a singleness of purpose, a high degree of most intelligent leadership. These furnish the real theme of the History. The Society years ago transferred its important Egyptian, Assyrian, and North and South American Indian collections to the Brooklyn Museum. More recently it disposed of duplicate rare books in its own name at public auction, in place of pointlessly hoarding them, or selling surreptitiously. These are examples of what is basic in flourishing institutions—adherence to function. This in turn has been responsible for the devotion and princely donations of officers, members, and others. Their labors and gifts in their turn make possible more work to contribute to the success cycle. Considered thus, Dr. Vail's history is not only a charming account of the Society, but a sermon on successful institutional policy making.

DOUGLAS GORDON

*American Heritage*, Volume VI, Number 1 (December, 1954). New York, 1954. 120 pp. \$2.95.

For some years a band of professional writers and historians, led by Professor Allan Nevins of Columbia University, have struggled to bring into existence an historical magazine adapted to the tastes, interests, and needs of the average American reader as opposed to those of the specialist and antiquarian. The fruit of these efforts is now available in *American Heritage*, a bi-monthly edited by Bruce Catton and a distinguished staff under the imprimatur of Simon and Schuster. Judging by the first issue with its superb format, typography, and illustrations, the publication ought to attract many subscribers by sheer visual allure. Of the ten articles that furnish the bulk of the content, all but one—an excerpt from Paul Horgan's forthcoming history of the Rio Grande—deal with some aspect of American social life, frequently in lightsome vein. Thus, Oliver Jensen depicts the heyday of the Fall River Line, Cleveland Amory presents an ironic portrait of the New York City clubs in their declining years, and Lucius Beebe offers a glimpse of the Western mining frontier at its gaudiest in "Panamint: Suburb of Hell." Balancing these are the serious pieces, ranging from Gerald Carson's nostalgic sketch of the old-time country store to the timely reminder by T. Harry Williams of how a certain Civil War general suffered disgrace and ruin in the hysteria of a congressional investigating body. This reviewer is inclined to award the palm, however, to the respective contributions of Allan Nevins ("Henry



Ford—a Complex Man”) and Dennis Brogan (“The Writing of History”), each a model of craftsmanship, of critical acumen, and imaginative presentation. All in all, the sponsors of *American Heritage* deserve unqualified praise for this initial product of their handiwork. The only doubt that arises is simply whether the man in the street, for whom the periodical is designed, will choose to pay the price.

BRUCE T. McCULLY

*College of William and Mary*

*The Letters of William Gilmore Simms, Volume III, 1850-1857.* Edited by MARY C. SIMMS OLIPHANT, et al. Univ. of South Carolina Press, 1954. 564 pp. \$8.50.

The third volume of the William Gilmore Simms letters reveals a vivid self-portrait of a man passionately devoted to the cause of Southern literary independence. Becoming increasingly impatient with the direction of national politics in the years following the Great Compromise, Simms concentrated his energies on maintaining an outlet for Southern literature through the columns of the *Southern Quarterly Review*. As editor he tirelessly cajoled reluctant publishers, dunned planters for unpaid subscriptions, and coaxed and encouraged his contributors. At intervals he found time to write a series of historical novels and to undertake an ill-starred lecture tour throughout the North.

Valuable as these letters are for the student of American civilization—a value greatly enhanced by the detailed annotation of the editors—their publication emphasizes the fact that traditional interpretations of Simms must be revised. Far from being a prophet without honor in his own country, there is ample evidence here that the South readily acknowledged his pre-eminence as a man of letters. Yet during middle age, heir to the irksome responsibilities of a large plantation and plagued by the financial demands of a growing family, Simms became the victim of a deep-seated despondency. He fell into the habit of referring to his literary labors as “drudgery” and, in mid-career, he was continually haunted by the disquieting doubt that a life dedicated to the creation of an indigenous Southern literature was, perhaps, doomed to the limbo of a lost cause.

CHARLES H. BOHNER

*University of Delaware*

*The Self-Made Man in America: The Myth of Rags to Riches.* By IRVIN G. WYLLIE. New Brunswick: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1954. viii, 210 pp. \$4.

Americans have always amazed European visitors by their ruling passion with money for money's sake. This, to the American, constituted his

criteria of success. Commencing with the hypothesis that the successful man was the self-made man, Professor Wyllie has analyzed the success theme in American life and literature and has demonstrated that the boast of the self-made man that he owed nothing to others and that his accomplishments were his own, are false and misleading. Although the American has a tendency to measure his success in terms of wealth, the author claims with justification that our most cherished ideas about how fame and fortune could be won are simply a myth and untrue.

Professor Wyllie has covered the period in American history from 1830 to 1954 in terms of what the American businessman and his leadership considered the reasons for his success. The conclusion is that the amassing of huge fortunes was the by-product of the industrial revolution and uninhibited business practices which received new impetus following the Civil War. Conditions of this sort did not favor the self-made man. One must take into consideration such factors as environment, opportunity, education, and the interdependence of man to his fellow man. It is, as the author points out, the fact that "faith was more alluring than fact."

Professor Wyllie has presented a new, substantial, and thought-provoking contribution to our intellectual history. One is forced to the conclusion that no matter what we think of the self-made man and his somewhat unscrupulous methods of acquiring his wealth, we must admire him for his contributions to American life by giving away his money so effectively and efficiently to enrich American life so well.

The author is to be congratulated for this contribution. He has thoroughly examined the idea and its uses and has related it to the general trend of thought. He has illustrated his pages with some of Charles Dana Gibson's drawings of well-dressed nineteenth century gentlemen which add an interesting touch. His bibliography is impressive. By garnering his facts from a vast number of printed sources, he has verified every quotation. This book should rank high on any list of notable works in the field of the history of ideas.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

*National Records Management Council*

*Captured By Indians: True Tales of Pioneer Survivors.* By HOWARD H. PECKHAM. New Brunswick: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1954. xvii, 238 pp. \$5.

Believing that a vast audience could be attracted to tales of Indian captivity Howard H. Peckham, the director of the Clements Library at the University of Michigan and a serious scholar of aspects of American Indian history, has narrated fourteen of these stories in a simple unpretentious way for the general reading public. Eight of the captivities occurred in the 18th century; only three are concerned with the trans-Mississippi West. What is presented is a theme with variations. As would be expected, most of the captives were women and children. Most

of them had loved ones murdered. All experienced much suffering and misery at the outset, and all eventually regained contact with white people. Years after their ordeal they either wrote about it or some one else told their story. How authentic these tales are is a matter of speculation for Mr. Peckham does not try to verify his accounts. He introduces each tale with a few broad generalizations that suggest the historical perspective, and he concludes with a brief statement of its various printings. Devotees of such tales, and scholars can easily consult more original material. For the uninitiated, however, the volume can serve as a general introduction. Rutgers University Press lends a helping hand by providing a most attractive format.

RICHARD LOWITT

*Connecticut College*

*The Social Sciences in Historical Study: A Report of the Committee on Historiography.* New York: Social Science Research Council, 1954. x, 181 pp. \$2.25 (\$1.75 paper).

This exceedingly important and highly stimulating report (Bulletin 64) is the result of group thinking on the part of the Council's second Committee on Historiography.

Bulletin 64, like its predecessor (Bulletin 54, [1946]: *Theory and Practice in Historical Study*) continues "to deal with the problems involved in making effective use of social science concepts and . . . methods in historical interpretation," concerning itself mainly with "substantive issues of method and analysis." The importance of having historians employ "methods of inquiry" used by "other social disciplines," is stressed, and a closer "collaboration between historians and other social scientists" is desired.

The report emphasizes that historians "can gain a working knowledge of the social sciences only from wide reading, discussion, and application of specific concepts to historical materials." "The social sciences do not solve the problem of analyzing time sequences but they do contribute to the historian's understanding of why men, groups, and societies behave in the way they do."

The historian's task should be that of presenting events in a definite order, of analyzing them in an interrelated manner, and of giving the causes of that pattern of events. To sum up the entire report in the wording of Chapter 6: "historians stand to gain substantially by intelligent and eclectic borrowing from the other social sciences."

HOWARD LEWIS BRIGGS

*State Teachers College, Frostburg*

*Fourteen Hundred and 91 Days in the Confederate Army.* By W. W. HEARTSILL; edited by BELL I. WILEY. Jackson, Tenn.: McCowat-Mercer Press, 1954. 332 pp. \$6.

The past two years have witnessed the appearance of a variety of materials related to the Civil War. It is especially of interest to note that many of these do not fall into the category of pure history, but are rather items of curiosity. Such is this unique book. The author, William Heartsill, a Confederate veteran, kept a diary of his experiences. After the War, he returned to his store in Texas and by means of a small ten dollar press printed an edition of the diary. One hundred copies were struck off—each with tipped in original photographs of members of his organization, the "W. P. Lane Rangers." Thinking in terms of our present day methods of printing, it was a fantastic undertaking paralleled only by the printers in 16th century Venice.

Heartsill's book has been reproduced in facsimile, in order, we are told, to retain all the flavour of the original. For the collector of curiosia and for the student of printing methods, this is indeed fortunate, but for the reader of history it presents something of a problem. The print is small; letters are blurred, and words are frequently misspelled. However, this is but a minor failing and if the reader is persistent he will find much to be gained from this volume. Certainly the diary is not the *Anabasis* of the Civil War. Heartsill is a good reporter, and he emphasizes the fact that war consists not so much of the sensuous experiences of fear and death, but of delay, of uncertainty, of personal discomfort, of boredom. This is one of the most admirable qualities of the book.

His naive approach to his task gives a certain amount of charm to his writing. It is an interesting book and worth the time it takes to read.

RICH BORNEMANN

*Baltimore Museum of Art*

*Confederate Letters of John W. Hagan.* Edited by BELL I. WILEY. Athens: Univ. of Georgia Press, 1954. 55 pp. \$1.50.

For many years Professor Wiley has been collecting and publishing letters which describe the Civil War in terms of what the rank and file soldier felt about his role in that war. This small volume is another of his contributions in that same vein. Previously published in the *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, these letters are a fascinating addition to the ever growing literature about Johnny Reb, his life, and his times.

Hagan served in a Georgia organization and participated in such battles as Chattanooga, Kenesaw Mountain, and Atlanta. After this last-named battle, he was taken prisoner and spent the remainder of the war at Camp Chase. Following his release from military service, Hagan returned to Georgia where he died in 1918.



These letters, the most of which are addressed to his wife Amanda, are an interesting and absorbing account of the life of the common soldier in the Confederate Army. Professor Wiley is indeed to be congratulated for placing material of this nature in print. One can only wish that we had in print the letters of many Maryland soldiers from that war. Professor Wiley has blazed a trail for others to follow.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

*National Records Management Council*

*New Wings for Intelligence.* Baltimore: Schneidereith & Sons, 1954. 34 pp.

As a tribute to one of the outstanding men in the history of the dissemination of knowledge, Schneidereith and Sons has published this booklet about Ottmar Mergenthaler, inventor of the Linotype. A native of Germany, Mergenthaler did most of his work in Baltimore, his adopted city. It is to be hoped that *New Wings for Intelligence*, with its attractive illustrations and a foreword by the inventor's only living son, will bring to many an appreciation of one of Baltimore's more brilliant lights.

*A Book of Maps of Cape May, 1610-1878.* Compiled by HORACE G. RICHARDS. Cape May, N. J.: 1954. 28 pp. \$2.

An interesting aspect of map study is brought out in this collection of twenty-seven maps with comments and descriptions by the compiler. Concentrating on a small area, the maps show changes not only in man's conception of the area, but change in the area itself. One wonders why the maps are not all arranged chronologically as are the comments, and even wishes, for convenience, that the comment on each map were beside it, but this is a small point, and probably an impractical printing arrangement. The book should be of interest to geographers and historians as well as to those who just like maps.

## NOTES AND QUERIES

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### THE MARYLAND SCENE AND POE'S ELEANORA

By JOHN C. FRENCH

It has often been remarked that Poe, unlike his contemporaries Irving and Hawthorne, made little use of familiar scenes for the settings of his tales. When he names a specific locality such as the Ragged Mountains near Charlottesville or Sullivan's Island and the adjacent mainland of South Carolina, he is content with the briefest of descriptions, too vague to leave guide-book references for tourists. However, the most daring flights of imagination must initially take off from some firm ground of remembered experience or observation. The suggestion that Poe's "Londor's Cottage" would not have been written if he had never lived in a somewhat similar structure in Fordham is entirely convincing; and the thought that the literal canoe trip on the Wissahiccon which Poe describes in "The Elk" was not without influence on the portrayal of the river and the gorge of the "Domain of Arnheim" is only slightly less so.

A similar starting point for idyllic description by Poe may perhaps be identified with scenery that he must have known near Baltimore in the early 1830's. In the *Maryland Historical Magazine* for December, 1941 (XXXVI, p. 363), Miss May Garrettson Evans, in an article entitled "Poe in Amity Street," calls attention to the close parallel between the first part of the tale *Eleanora*, which depicts "the happy life together of two cousins, the gradual unfolding of their love, the vow of constancy" and the actual situation in the years between 1832 and 1835 when Edgar, Virginia, and Virginia's mother, Mrs. Clemm, lived in the little brick dwelling now numbered 203 Amity Street and restored and maintained as a literary memorial. The autobiographical parallel is too close to be ignored.

It will be remembered that the cottage of the tale stands in an isolated ravine which Poe calls the "Valley of the Many Colored Grass" and near a clear stream so quiet as to be named by the cousins the "River of Silence." As a starting point for Poe's fancy in this elaborate description, I suggest the valley of Gwynn's Falls at a point not more than a mile and a half west of Amity Street. That stream, once a valuable source of water power, came tumbling down from the uplands of Baltimore County over a series of dams until it rolled under the great western road to Frederick and Cumberland, past the fine mansion built by Charles Carroll, Barrister, about 1754, to find sea level in the Middle Branch of the Patapsco Estuary. Its last and most picturesque ravine was the one nearest Amity Street.

Like Mr. Mencken I once lived on Union Square in West Baltimore and knew the immediate suburbs well. The Gwynn's Falls valley as I first saw it some sixty-five years ago was still largely unspoiled. The stream-flow was strong, the hills well wooded, and though steam had made water power less important, the millrace still ran full of clear water. The footpath along the race was a pleasant walk under tall trees, and was a lover's lane for the young people of the city.

Lambert Wilmer records that he and Poe used to take long walks together, and that Edgar was in every way considerate of his little cousin. Wilmer left Baltimore in October, 1832. It is not pushing probability too far to conjecture that there were many walks in the country which Virginia shared, that the pleasant hillsides of the Falls were often chosen, and that they may well have suggested to the young poet a scenic elaboration of the thinly autobiographical portrayal of his life in Amity Street.

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## EDWARD THORNTON LOOKS AT BALTIMORE

By FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

Two letters from Edward Thornton, British vice consul at Baltimore,<sup>1</sup> to James Bland Burges, the under-secretary of state for foreign affairs,<sup>2</sup> describe Baltimore through the eyes of a young man who was an extremely important visitor at a time when Anglo-American relations were at a low ebb and the city pro-French in its sentiments. Written in the late summer and early fall of 1793, Thornton's letters provide a vivid description of the town, his antipathy towards it, as well as a valuable commentary upon the political conditions of that year. The real importance of the letters lies in his views on the visit of "Citizen" Genet, the yellow fever epidemic, and the arrival of the refugees from Santo Domingo.

In 1793 the United States was engaged in a struggle to preserve its neutrality. "This country is still in a state of agitation on the great question of observing a neutrality in the war actually subsisting among the powers of Europe," wrote George Hammond, the British minister.<sup>3</sup> While French sympathy was strong in Baltimore, and its citizens had followed the progress of the French Revolution with great interest, the feelings of most Baltimoreans were somewhat tempered by the excesses of

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<sup>1</sup> Edward Thornton (1766-1852) had come to the United States in 1791 as secretary to George Hammond, the first minister to the United States. From 1791 to 1796, he was vice consul at Baltimore. The location of the original letters is not known. The Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress possesses photostats of typescript copies of each.

<sup>2</sup> Sir James Bland Burges (1752-1824) had become under-secretary of state in the foreign department in 1789. Retired in 1795 in favor of a friend of Lord Grenville, he devoted the remainder of his life to literary pursuits.

<sup>3</sup> George Hammond to Lord Grenville, September 17, 1793. Public Record Office, Foreign Office, 5:1 (hereafter FO).

the revolutionists and the unwisdom of "Citizen" Genet. The result was, according to Thornton, a slow decline in the influence of France over the minds of the people.

Edmond C. Genet, the French minister, had come to secure support for his plan to use the United States as a base for an attack on British commerce and to seize adjoining British and Spanish territory. Although Baltimoreans had greeted him enthusiastically, Hammond commented that he had "the strongest reason to believe that his [Genet's] general conduct has been very far from making a favorable impression on the President and the other members of his government."<sup>4</sup> Thornton's letters also reveal the deep interest in Baltimore toward these events and the deep sense of the obligation of its people towards France, as well as the mixed emotions caused by Genet's injudicious actions.

A second event which Thornton describes was the famous yellow fever epidemic of 1793. Commencing in June, it lasted until October when the coming of the frost provided the only check upon the dread plague. Baltimore, too, experienced the disease, which has been described as "one of the great tragic episodes in the human history of the world."<sup>5</sup> Thornton notes the alarm felt in the city with the comment that the events of the four months contributed much to increase his irritable disposition.

During the summer, the Santo Domingo refugees reached the United States. Most of them were "destitute, bewildered, despairing, inflamed with race prejudice, passionately and fanatically opposed to the revolution and all its works in the island."<sup>6</sup> Baltimore responded to the influx of the thirteen shiploads by absorbing them into the life of the city. While revealing his horror at the massacre at Cape François, Thornton criticized British policies for not following a course which could have turned public support more toward his own country because of this incident.

Thornton did not particularly like Baltimore and Maryland, and it can be assumed that his stay here was an unhappy one. He did not wish to comment favorably on the "manners of the people in this place," for fear of "having adopted this indirect method of paying court to the inhabitants of Baltimore," so he remained silent. Yet he felt that his tour of duty was beneficial since the town had in it "many more who dislike than admire her," he had made many more friends than foes in it. So, he desired an early return to England "to relearn the lessons of humanity." Still, Thornton's comments were not at all entirely negative. He did observe that Baltimore was the most "increasing" commercial town he had ever seen and to him, at least, the prospects for the future were very pleasing.

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<sup>4</sup> Same, June 10, 1793.

<sup>5</sup> John H. Powell, *Bring Out Your Dead* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1949), p. v.

<sup>6</sup> Frances Sergeant Childs, *French Refugee Life in the United States*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1940), p. 16.



" Baltimore

" 1st. September 1793

" My dearest Sir,

" At the time of the sailing of the July Packet from New York, I was so engaged in preparing for my journey to this town, which had been too long delayed, that I had no time for writing; and the June Packet from England, which was expected to take the August mail, arrived so late, that I had only time to finish two letters to Pembroke Hall, which were indispensable, and of which I inclose duplicates, begging you to have the goodness to forward them. By the June Packet I received an intimation from the tutor at Pembroke, that an election for two fellows of that society would be held the beginning of November, and that I might attend the meeting personally as a candidate, which however he was authorized by the society to acquaint me was by no means absolutely necessary. This dispensation from personal attendance I could not but eagerly embrace under my present circumstances, although I am apprehensive that it may be a prejudice to me at the ensuing election. *Segnius irritant animos demissa per auren quam quo sunt oculis subiecte [i] fidelibus,*<sup>7</sup> and I believe (laying aside all other considerations) there will ever be very little hesitation in deciding between two candidates at Pembroke and one proxy from Baltimore. The two gentlemen are my seniors on the Boards, a circumstance much to my disadvantage. On the score of real merit it is not for me to speak. This only I may without much vanity assert that according to that scale which our University has chosen to adopt as the test of merit, I am at least equal to one of the candidates, and decidedly superior to the other.<sup>8</sup>

" By this conveyance, my dear Sir, I cannot with prudence address you on certain subjects. I must, too, just observe to you that in consequence of the conduct of its ministers the influence of France over the minds of the people here is fast declining. It is indeed *malgré lui*, [in spite of him] and while it is possible to separate in idea the man and his measures from those of his nation, the recantation will not be sung in full and unanimous chorus. A weak government (and still more if it be a proud one) does not chuse to be reminded of its weakness; it can therefore never forgive an insult, which involves at once the assertion and its proof and both in the most humiliating way. What should we think of the policy of an adventurer who could remind his hoary mistress of her age, and challenge her to bite him because he knew she had no teeth? On the other hand our friend [Hammond] at Pha. is turning the current in another direction with a sure and silent progress. By a conduct frank and temperate, firm yet always respectful, he is proceeding by the smooth road to gain the affections of this country towards himself and his nation. This turn has been very perceptible during my stay in this town which at the time of my arrival was almost entirely French.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> "Those who are distant disturb the minds somewhat less actively by ear than where they are regarded by faithful eyes."

<sup>8</sup> Thornton was elected Fellow, Pembroke College, Cambridge, in 1798.

<sup>9</sup> "The people everywhere, so far as he [Genet] had anything to do with them,

"The town of Baltimore is the largest in the State of Maryland, though it is not the metropolis, nor the seat of the government. It contains about twelve or fourteen thousand inhabitants, and is in my opinion beyond comparison the most *increasing* commercial town of any which I have yet seen. It is built on one side of a circular bason near the head of the Chesapeake, the most noble bay in the world, in a low sandy bottom, and closely encircled with hills. The place from this description you may easily imagine is neither pleasant nor healthy; in fact the heat of the summer is almost intolerable, and the ague and fever are frequent visitors. From the hills about it these views of the bason, the shipping, and of the numerous points and islands in the bay, are really superb. The country as far as it is cultivated is extremely productive in corn, particularly on the Eastern Shore of this Bay, whose produce and that of the banks of the Susquehanna and some other rivers are brought entirely to this town, at least when designed for exportation. A vast quantity of flour is also brought by land carriage from a considerable distance. The culture of tobacco is on the decline in this State, and indeed in Virginia itself; although it will form for several years to come a very considerable article of exportation. The population of this State is estimated to exceed 300,000 of whom nearly one third are slaves, and this estimate allows about 27 persons to a square mile. In a country so thinly inhabited, although it produces much more than it consumes a great portion must necessarily be unsettled and still in a state of nature. In fact the roads lie thro' woods whose continuity is occasionally interrupted by open spots of cultivated land. I travelled thro' that part, the Eastern Shore, which is reckoned to be in the highest state of cultivation; and which is yet laid out in this manner. These open tracts of corn or nature land are often very extensive but are constantly encircled by a kind of ampitheatre of woods and unless in traveling the road happens to be so elevated as to overtop the neighbouring trees, a forest is the constant boundary of every prospect.

"As to the manners of the people in this place, I could, were I so disposed, expatiate upon the primitive purity of the inferior classes, upon the general knowledge of the higher orders in every branch of science, more especially in political economy, upon their liberal, enlightened and polished manner of discussing the latter topic. I could do all this; but the vessel which conveys my letter may perhaps be stopped by a cruiser, the letters examined, and I may be suspected of having adopted this indirect mode of paying my court to the inhabitants of B[altimore]. I shall therefore be silent; and if I ever find certain sentiments almost involuntarily rising in my mind (you will easily conjecture of what nature they are) I shall still contrive to check their progress by a recollection of those charming models of refined manners, of goodness and of knowledge which I have ever seen. By this recollection I become once

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seemed to be very friendly to French principles and to France. The government took an entirely different attitude." Edward Channing, *A History of the United States*, IV (New York, 1927), p. 132.

more satisfied with human nature. "I feed on sweet contentment of my thoughts," and feel myself more than ever,

"Your grateful and affectionate,

"E. T.

"P. S. I did not receive by the last Packet the letters of Alfred you were so good as to promise me. I read them with Mr. Hammond and admired them so much not to wish to repeat that pleasure.

"If you could spare me a London daily paper after you had thrown it aside, I should be extremely grateful for it; as I see in this place none but partial, mutilated and even malicious extracts from the most violent of the English papers. I have importuned my brother repeatedly with a similar request and have never been able to obtain them in a regular or even in any manner from him.

"James Bland Burges, Esq."

"E. T.

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"Baltimore

"3rd November 1793

"J. B. Burges, Esq.

"My ever dear Sir,

"I do not apologize to you for the very long silence which I have observed (except in one or two instances) since my residence here: for in fact the difficulties, arising from the alarming malady which has raged at Philadelphia, from the late arrivals of the Packets and their almost instant departure together with the uncertainty of any other conveyance, have deterred or rather have prevented me entirely from writing.<sup>10</sup> During the four months in which I have lived in this town (the longest and most busy I have ever seen) I have not been regaled with the sight of a single British vessel, but under the *agreeable* circumstances of capture often illegal, unlawful, condemnation and precipitate sale.<sup>11</sup> I cannot indeed claim much merit from an activity and vigilance, which, although my duty and my pleasure, has been not a little stimulated by my hatred of the Gaelic name and by indignation at their shameful proceedings. The gross partiality to that system discovered by the mass of the people here and their malevolence against Great Britain, supported and perhaps ex-

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<sup>10</sup> Hammond called the yellow fever epidemic "certainly one of the most malignant that has ever existed in any age or nation." Hammond to Grenville, FO 5:1. October 12, 1793. The yellow fever first appeared in Baltimore in August. "A very considerable part of the inhabitants of the Point fled into the country and some of the town also removed." Annie Leakin Sioussat, *Old Baltimore*. (New York, 1931), pp. 133-134.

<sup>11</sup> Hammond repeatedly protested the seizure of British vessels in violation of American neutrality. He later became an undersecretary in the Foreign Office and for years he was a thorn in the side of successive American ministers in London.

torted by the terrors of a French armed force have contributed in no small degree to increase my irritable disposition. Allow me, my dear Sir, to reveal to you my opinion (and under the seal of the strictest confidence) that the interests of Great Britain have sustained material injury, I will not say by her neglect of this Coast, but by her entire and undivided attention to more important objects. It has lost her the opportunity for a time and perhaps forever, of capturing a fleet of merchantmen, whose value could scarcely be short of ten million sterling.

"This indeed could not have been foreseen; but in war and in such a war as the present, what event can be predicted? When that fleet arrived in the Chesapeake with thousands of naked wretches on board flying from fire and massacre and horror, it excited an enthusiasm and compassion *prima impressione*, which would have been more honorable to the American character, had they not been tainted a little too much with politics.<sup>12</sup> The desperate faction in this country, attached to France seized with eagerness this favourable moment of relieving their *allies* and carried away in the torment all good men who were urged to the same object by purer motives. At first indeed I congratulated myself that a B. sqn. had *not* been in the way to intercept this unhappy people, who had no other interest in the fleet than that of their own immediate preservation. But why could not a British squadron after taking them have relieved them in the same manner? Why could not our glorious nation have run a second career of generosity and compassion similar to the first example she gave to an admiring world? Instead of this, under the protection of a general principle which had contemplated so singular an exception to itself, a set of privateers, the disgrace of human nature by their rapacity and cruelty, plundered the unfortunate creatures, who could not escape with the fleet, of the poor remains of their fortune rescued from the flames and gave a second opportunity to the same faction of depressing the British character to which they artfully extended the stigma, in the same proportion that they had before elevated the French. By this we lost the occasion of presenting another honorable spectacle to the world, that of the armed force of a great nation punishing its guilty subjects, who had too shamefully abused its general laws. I know that in this country these enmities of the privateers have been described with all the aggravations of private malignity: but does not this give an additional force to my arguments?

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<sup>12</sup> "In the course of last week nine or ten vessels from Cape Francois, under the convoy of the frigate *la Furie* have arrived in ports of the United States, having on board eleven hundred passengers chiefly white males and women of colour. The former are the desperate profligate Democrats, . . . who, in consequence of a part of the island being in possession of his Majesty's forces, have endeavored to secure by flight their personal safety. Their arrival has naturally excited the resentment of the former fugitives from St. Domingo, by whom their conduct will be narrowly watched. It is said that since the departure of these persons, not more than three hundred whites are left behind at the Cape," reported Hammond to Grenville, November 10, 1793; FO 5:1. More than one thousand of the refugees had come to Baltimore where within one hour \$11,000 had been subscribed for their relief; Powell, *op. cit.*, p. 5.



"In fine my dear Sir, the manoeuvres of this same faction, with the co-operation of the French Minister and the terrors of the fleet (all of which would have been overcome by the strong counterpoise of an English squadron) actually intimidated the government of this country from pursuing with vigour that system which prudence pointed out to it to adopt. Forgive me, my ever dear Sir, that I talk thus freely to you; I am jealous of my country's honor, which (in this place more particularly) affects me if possible as nearly as the preservation of my own character; and when so much has been done well, I wish to see it done well in every part.

"As for myself and my life in this town, when I tell you that G[reat] B[ritain] has in it many more who dislike than those who admire her; that I never shrink from her cause in any argument, but support it with perhaps an improper warmth, you may think that I do not lead an extremely pleasant life. That is perhaps true; but after all partly from good humour, partly perhaps from the frank expression of my spleen when I find it excited, I believe that I have made more friends than foes in it. Shall I however disclose to you one fault which I begin to discover in myself? I fear I am growing vain and insolent. In England a young man must be possessed of an uncommon share of vanity or must have had extremely bad luck, if he has not found himself almost always in company superior to him in rank, in talents and in education. From the continual rubs which vanity thus receives the blemish becomes polished, if it be not destroyed. If then I should sigh out a wish to return to England, impute it as you please to my desire of re-learning the lesson of humility, or to my anxiety to embrace my dear and honored friends. What a cure for both these feelings would your company afford to

"My dear Sir

"Your ever faithful and affectionate

"Edwd. Thornton"

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### ORIGINAL NAME OF BLADENSBURG

From time to time articles have been written suggesting that the port and trading post at the forks of the Eastern Branch may have been in existence for some time prior to the legislative act of 1742 designating it as Bladensburg in honor of Governor Bladen. The late J. H. Shannon who wrote for *The Sunday Star* (Washington, D. C.) under "The Rambler" suggested that he believed the original name was Garrison's Landing; however, to my knowledge, none of the writers ever identified the original settlement by the original name, Beall Town.

The tract upon which Bladensburg is located was called "Black Ash" or "Black Oak" and was owned by John Beall (1688-1742) (of Alexander). John Beall's wife was Verlinda Magruder (1690-1745), and they conveyed many lots in and adjoining Beall Town long before it was named Bladensburg.—Among the transactions being:—

Grantee	Lots	Date	Record
John Haswell	36, 41	12.12.1728	M. f. 388
John Bradford	5, 6, 15, 27	12.12.1728	M. f. 348
Ninian Beall	19	12.12.1728	M. f. 387
Rich. Snowden	12	12.12.1728	M. f. 386
David Cranford	9	12.12.1728	M. f. 385
Nath. Wickham	1	12.12.1728	M. f. 385
Thos. Harris	4	12.12.1728	M. f. 385
Samuel Magruder, Sr.	(1 lot)	12.13.1728	M. f. 378
William Beall	22 (1 acre)	12.12.1728	M. f. 392
Hen. Cramphin	4 acres	11.13.1734	T. f. 201
Thos. Odell	3	12.12.1728	M. f. 391, 2
Thos. Chittam	$\frac{1}{2}$ acre	9.9.1738	T. f. 650
John Bell	32	12.12.1728	M. f. 393
Nicholas Smith	33	12.12.1728	M. f. 388
Joseph Jones	26	12.12.1728	M. f. 389
H. & E. Tafford	1 acre	5.11.1741	Y. f. 285
Chris. Lowndes	6 acres	5.25.1741	Y. f. 291

Between 1728 and 1742 some lots were resold, e. g., Ninian Beall to John Adamson: Lot 19 (1 acre), 1.5.1731, Liber Q. f. 418, 422.

After Beall Town became Bladensburg in 1742, the land conveyances described the lots as being in Bladensburg and we find:—

—Andrew Beall to Chris. Lownes, Lot 40, west of Bridge Street, Bladensburg; 3.29.1748 BB or EE f. 605.

—William Thornton to Andrew Beall, lots 35, 36, Bladensburg, 4.16.1776, Lib. CC—2 f. 261.

No search has been made to run the titles of lots conveyed by John Beall, ux. Verlinda, and the few references after 1744 were noted because the name Beall was involved and I was taking all P. G. Co. deeds to or from a Beall.

I have not found the plat of either Beall Town or Bladensburg.

J. NINIAN BEALL

Investment Bldg., 15th and K Sts., N. W.,  
Washington 5, D. C.

## MARYLAND PILGRIMAGE FORUM

A series of lectures under the joint sponsorship of the Maryland Historical Society, the Federated Garden Clubs, and the Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities, will be given in connection with the Maryland House and Garden Pilgrimage on Monday, May 2 and again on

May 9. The sessions will be held both afternoon and evening in the auditorium of the Baltimore Museum of Art. On May 2 at 2.30 p. m. Dr. Richard H. Howland, Professor of Fine Arts at Johns Hopkins, will speak of "Maryland Architecture" and will be followed by Mr. J. A. Lloyd Hyde, who will discuss Chinese export porcelain. At 8.30 the same evening "Maryland Furniture" will be the subject of a lecture by Mr. Charles F. Montgomery, Director of duPont Winterthur Museum, and Mrs. Lydia Bond Powel, Keeper of the Metropolitan Museum's American Wing, will talk on "A House and Garden Tour in Early America."

The program for May 9 will be as follows: At 2.30 Miss Alice Winchester, Editor of *Antiques*, will speak on "Collecting and Living with Antiques" and Mr. Joe Kindig, Jr., will tell "Where Antiques Have Led Me." At 8.30 Maryland architecture will be the topic of Professor Robert C. Smith of the University of Pennsylvania, followed by Mr. Charles Coleman Sellers, of the Dickinson College Faculty who will lecture on Charles Willson Peale and his paintings.

The cost will be \$2.00 for each Forum session or \$3.50 per day. If both days are included, the total admission will be \$6.00. For tickets write Pilgrimage Headquarters, Sheraton-Belvedere Hotel, Baltimore 2.

*Anglican Church History*—The undersigned is engaged in a research project covering the formative meeting of the Anglican Church held at Chestertown, Kent Co., in Nov., 1780. He wants to locate MSS of following key men, all closely associated with Maryland:

Rev. Dr. William Smith (1727-1803). Known depositories: New York and Pennsylvania historical societies, and American Philosophical Society.

Rev. Mr. James Jones Wilmer (1749-1814). None known.

Rev. Mr. Samuel Keene (1734-1810). None known.

Any assistance in this research will be greatly appreciated.

ROBERT W. SHOEMAKER

Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Troy, N. Y.

*Abrahams et al*—Need information on present day descendants of following mid-19th century Baltimore shipwrights:

Abrahams, John J.

Ashcroft, Robert

Goodwin, Richard B.

Skinner, William

M. V. BREWINGTON  
Route One, Cambridge.

*Longwell—Alexander—Lorman*—Wm. and Hugh Longwell (Langwill, Longwill), probably brothers, bought land 1749 in New Munster section of Cecil Co. Traditionally Wm. married 1st a dau. of Moses Alexander; he married 2d 1756 in Old Swedes Church, Margaret Glann. Wm. Longwill died testate in Cecil Co. 1790, leaving three daus: (1) Mary (1748-1794) md. 1st Andrew Lorman and removed to Falmouth, Va., and 2nd James Lyon (1756-1836); (2) Martha md. 1778 Jonathan Rutter; and (3) Margaret md. Archibald Dysart. Andrew and Mary Longwill Lorman were parents of William Lorman (1764-1841) who went to Baltimore and became a leading merchant and business man. The above Moses Alexander d. 1762 leaving a son Mark, shipbuilder of Baltimore and a daughter Priscilla Alexander White to whom he left the family Bible.

Need information about Longwell (Longwill, Langwill)—Lorman or Alexander families prior to 1800; the name of the first wife of Wm. Longwill (17 -1790) and information regarding descendants of Priscilla (Alexander) White who inherited the Alexander family Bible.

GEORGE H. S. KING

1301 Prince Edward St., Fredericksburg Va.

---

*Melvin—Robertson—Blades*—Wish to exchange data on early history of Melvin family of Worcester and Somerset cos. Can someone tell me names of parents of Leah Robertson, b. 1753, m. Wm. Melvin, Revolutionary War soldier? Who were parents of Ann Blades, m. Thomas B. Melvin, 1842?

Miss RUTH E. YOUNG

10 Myrtle St., East Hampton, Hampton, Va.

---

*Pegg*—Would like any information concerning Valentine Pegg, particularly the county in which he lived. He was born in Md. ca. 1743 and brothers named James and John (twins), Martin, and Samuel.

Mrs. ALLEN C. KINNAMAN

711 Beech Ave., Charleston 2, W. Va.

---

*Selby*—Can someone tell me when Mary Selby of Anne Arundel Co. was born? She married (1st) in 1694 Charles Howard of A. A. Co., (2d) in 1718/9 Otho Holland. Need also names, dates, and places of birth and death of Mary Selby's parents.

Mrs. HOWARD HEARNE CRANE

1101 N. Mallard St., Palestine, Tex.

---



*Slye*—Reference is made to the marriage of Jean-Charles-Marie-Louis Pascault to Mary Magdalen Slye of St. Mary's Co. in 1789 in Walter C. Hartridge's article "The Refugees from the Island of St. Domingo in Maryland," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXVIII (June, 1943), 116. Can some one tell me the names of Miss Slye's parents and how she is related to Robert and Susanna Gerrard Slye of "Bushwood Manor"?

CHARLES R. GOLDSBOROUGH, JR.  
504 Somerset Rd., Baltimore 10

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*Back Issues*—The Society always welcomes the return of any and all back issues of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* that members may not wish to retain.

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#### CONTRIBUTORS

Mr. FORMAN, a former contributor to this *Magazine* and author of such well-known books as *The Architecture of The Old South*, travelled more than 1,600 miles to Genesar to make the studies necessary for this article. ☆ An officer of the Society and noted local historian, Mr. MARYE has written many articles for archaeological and historical periodicals. ☆ Mr. BEITZELL has made extensive researches in the history of 17th century Maryland. ☆ Mrs. ROBERT S. PEABODY, who has prepared several installments of the letters of Governor Lee, is a great granddaughter of the Revolutionary chief executive.

*50th Year of Publication*

# MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE



Grey Rock, Baltimore County.

*Photo by A. Aubrey Bodine*

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
BALTIMORE

*June · 1955*

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FRED SHELLEY, *Editor*

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The Magazine is entered as second class matter, at the post office at Baltimore, Maryland, under Act of August 24, 1912.

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## THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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The Maryland Historical Society, incorporated in 1844, was organized to collect, preserve and spread information relating to the history of Maryland and of the United States. Its threefold program includes

1. Collection of manuscript and printed materials, maps, prints, paintings, furniture, silver, fabrics, maritime items, and other objects of interest;
2. Preservation of these materials for the benefit of all who care to enjoy them, and exhibition of items which will encourage an understanding of State and National history; and
3. Spread of historical information relating to Maryland and the rest of the country by means of addresses at the Society's home by authorities in various fields; addresses to outside groups by officers and staff of the Society; publication of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, a quarterly containing original articles about State history; *Maryland History Notes*, a quarterly bulletin of news of the Society and other local historical items, the *Archives of Maryland* and the record of Maryland in World War II under the authority of the State and other serial and special publications.

The annual dues of the Society are \$5.00, life membership \$100.00. Subscription to the *Magazine* and to the quarterly news bulletin, *Maryland History Notes*, is included in the membership fee as well as use of the collections and admission to the lectures. The library, portrait gallery and museum rooms, are open daily except Sunday, 9 to 5, Saturday, 9 to 4. *June 15 to Sept. 15*, daily 9 to 4, Saturday, 9 to 1.

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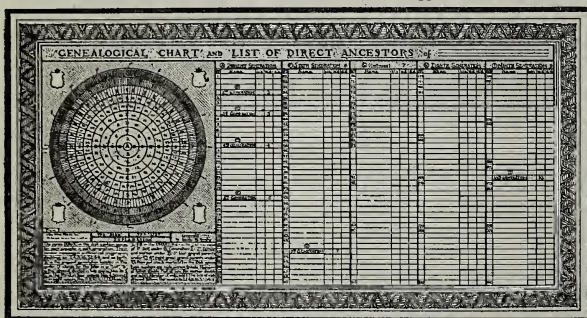
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# MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

*A Quarterly*

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## WASHINGTON AND A "NATURAL ARISTOCRACY"

By THEODORE R. MCKELDIN<sup>1</sup>

*Governor of Maryland*

IT is an interesting fact which to some people seems ironical that Thomas Jefferson, traditionally regarded as the great protagonist of democracy, is also the man who gave us perhaps our most ringing declaration of faith in government by aristocracy. Jefferson was careful to explain that he meant a "natural" aristocracy, based on "virtue and talents," not on the accident of birth; but "the natural aristocracy," he continued, "I consider as the most precious gift of nature, for the instruction, the trusts, and government of society."<sup>2</sup>

Note that Jefferson did not stop with committing government

<sup>1</sup> Address delivered at the annual meeting of The Society of the Cincinnati of Maryland, February 22, 1955.

<sup>2</sup> Jefferson to John Adams, Oct. 28, 1813, in P. L. Ford (ed.), *Works of Thomas Jefferson* (New York, 1904), XI, 343.

alone to the *aristoi*, that is to say "the best." He would have charged them also with education and fiduciary relationships, schools and guardianships, as well as political offices. It is hard to imagine a more vigorous assertion of the doctrine that while men may be created equal, they do not remain equal, and that those who rise by reason of their virtues and talents should alone be trusted with power.

If this was the attitude of Thomas Jefferson, it is needless to inquire further to be assured that the doctrine of equality, except equality before the law, had no part in the thinking of the great founders of the Republic. The law should be equal for all. Opportunity should be equal for all. But the equality applies to the law and to opportunity, not to men. The Founding Fathers believed that the aspiration of men should be toward excellence, not equality; and to a man, including Jefferson, they agreed that excellence should be recognized by the bestowal of power.

I have a second reason for citing Jefferson on this occasion. Not only was he the great exponent of democratic theory, but of all the Revolutionary notables he is least likely to be charged with undue sympathy with the aims and ideals of the Society of the Cincinnati. The famous letter to Mazzei is still remembered without pleasure by the Cincinnati, for while it describes the founders of your order as Solomons in council and Samsons in the field, it was sharply critical of their policy at the time the letter was written.<sup>8</sup> Jefferson may therefore be described as in some sense a hostile witness; and it is common knowledge that favorable testimony from a hostile witness is doubly valuable.

The Society of the Cincinnati is a living memorial to the fact that there did arise in this country an aristocracy precisely of the sort that Jefferson described, one based on "virtue and talents" and claiming precedence on no other ground than that of excellence in the public service; and this "most precious gift of nature" was welcomed by the young republic. To deny that the memory of this event should be preserved would be to deny that history should be written; for there is much truth in Carlyle's observa-

<sup>8</sup> Jefferson to Phillip Mazzei, April 24, 1796, Ford, *op. cit.*, VIII, 240-241. The specific quotation follows: "It would give you a fever were I to name you the apostates who have gone over to these heresies, men who were Samsons in the field & Solomons in the council, but who have had their heads shorn by the harlot England."

tion that the history of what man has accomplished in this world is at bottom the history of the great men who have worked here.<sup>4</sup>

He might have gone further and said with equal truth that the greatness of a nation survives exactly to the extent that it keeps alive the spirit of its great men, responding to new challenges as they responded to the old, aspiring to the same ideals, dreaming the same dreams. Methods and means change as circumstances change; we cannot fight Washington's battles again with Washington's weapons; but we can face new enemies with the old courage that inspired him and attack new problems with the old devotion.

Above all, we can maintain in modern times the massive integrity that was the foundation of his greatness. Revolutionary America had more learned men than Washington, more brilliant men than Washington, shrewder men than Washington; but nowhere on this continent did there stand a more rigorously upright man than he. Learning, brilliance, adroitness are useful and valuable qualities, but when the times are really desperate all of them combined do not count for as much as sheer character. It was on the anvil of Washington's iron honesty that the heats and hammer-blows of war forged this nation; and it is on honesty that it must be constantly re-forged to maintain the temper of its metal.

Shallow minds are sometimes inclined to sneer at efforts to retain in the modern nation the qualities that made it great in the past. "Ancestor-worship" they call it when we remind youth of the glories of an earlier day. Shallow minds cannot understand that it is not George Washington that we worship but moral excellence; he is useful because he embodied it, exemplified it, made it visible and comprehensible. But no sane man supposes that he created it, and God forbid that we should ever assume that it died with him.

The Society of the Cincinnati when it insists upon reminding the modern generation of the deeds of our illustrious forefathers is in fact creating an aristocratic tradition, but an aristocracy of

<sup>4</sup> "There is no heroic poem in the world but is at bottom a biography, the life of a man; also it may be said, there is no life of a man, faithfully recorded, but is a heroic poem of its sort, rhymed or unrhymed." John Bartlett, *Familiar Quotations*, 10th edition (Boston, 1915), p. 582.



a kind that even Thomas Jefferson approved, and to which he wished to see the destinies of the nation committed.

For the democracy of America is not direct, but representative. That implies a certain sifting out, a selective process of choosing men to act directly. To the extent that the selection is based upon virtue and talent we have that rule of the best, the *aristoi*, that was Jefferson's ideal. But our besetting sin is that we so often choose, not for excellence, but for some other reason—for our advantage, or through prejudice, or from ignorance and misinformation. Then our system drags through one of those dreary interludes that are the despair of intelligent and patriotic men.

The current crisis in world affairs has thrown upon Americans a greater responsibility than they have ever borne before. In earlier times failure to maintain our ideal of self-government under constitutional checks and balances would have involved ourselves alone in the painful consequences. But if we should fail today we would involve all free nations, for we are in a position of leadership and when a leader fails all his followers pay the penalty. It matters not at all that leadership was forced upon us by the course of events and not attained by our own ambition; what matters is that we are in the van of western civilization whether we like it or not, and we cannot sink to the rear without betraying, not only ourselves, but all free men in all parts of the world.

It happens to be also a moment when the future is obscure to an extent almost without precedent. The upheavals of the 20th century have destroyed many of the old landmarks and raised suspicion as to the validity of others. In politics, in economics, in sociology we simply do not know what lies ahead, but there is every reason to believe that whatever is in store for us will be new and perplexing. All our knowledge, skill, and ingenuity will probably be none too much to carry us safely through this Time of Troubles.

This has led pessimists to cry out that all is lost, that we are on a rudderless ship under an overcast sky with neither star nor compass to guide us. But the pessimists are brought to that dismal conviction by their own fault. They are not even ancestor-worshippers, but worshippers of the institutions that our ancestors created; they have no comprehension of the spirit that inspired

that creative work. They boast of George Washington's victory at Yorktown, of his creation of the office of President, of his organization of the new government and his ability to set it on the right path. These were glorious achievements, to be sure, but infinitely more glorious were the qualities of mind and heart that enabled him to achieve them.

We cannot repeat Washington's feats either of arms or of statecraft; but nothing except our own feebleness of character restrains us from duplicating the greatness of his spirit. If we could do that, we, too, might be Solomons in council and Samsons in the field, trampling underfoot the obstacles that daunt us because they seem insurmountable.

I mean to say that Washington's statecraft, at least in part, is as obsolete as the flintlock musket; but the courage, the honor, the integrity that inspired that statecraft are immortal. Ever new, ever radiant, ever powerful, they can beat down our enemies as effectively as they beat down the foes that beset Washington on every side.

To keep that spirit burnished in the minds and hearts of this generation is the high calling of your Society. It is an honorable mission in which you should have the support of every man who was born free and in every fibre of his being is determined to die free. For to maintain the spirit of freedom in this dark hour is more than patriotism; it is to serve, not America, but all mankind, for today freedom is menaced everywhere in the world and to survive anywhere it must be maintained everywhere.

We cannot all be Washington, but the least among us can, if he will, be like Washington in putting honor above ambition and the welfare of his fellow-men above pride and power. And if we do, the least of us, like Washington, can end by deserving the great epitaph of Mr. Valliant-for-Truth: "So he passed over, and all the trumpets sounded for him on the other side." <sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *Pilgrim's Progress*, Part II.

## THE RE-CREATION OF GREY ROCK, BALTIMORE COUNTY<sup>1</sup>

ON the highest point within ten miles of Baltimore and not far from Pikesville stands the mansion of Grey Rock, mounting guard over the historic estate on which one of Maryland's immortals, Colonel John Eager Howard, was born. Now the home of Mr. and Mrs. Harold Duane Jacobs, the property has been almost re-created and brought to superb condition.

Although it is surrounded by ancient trees and lawns, the Grey Rock house is not yet a century old. Built about 1858 by Dr. James Maynard, the present mansion is located a little south of the site of the old Howard house. The latter, a simple stone affair of one story and a half, was the birthplace of John Eager Howard in 1752. Later owners allowed it to fall into ruin and now not even its foundations are to be seen. Today the private cemetery is the only visual evidence of Howard ownership. A stone-walled enclosure to the north of the house contains the graves of Cornelius Howard, father of John Eager Howard, and of several of his descendants.

As the visitor follows the winding driveway up the rise from Reisterstown Road to the lawn filled with fine elms, tulip poplars, maples, beeches and evergreens, he anticipates a mansion of distinction. He is not disappointed. Twenty-five years of study and planning by its present mistress have resulted in complete harmony between the enlarged house and its splendid setting.

The Grey Rock house is built of native grey stone stuccoed and painted white. Originally it was an L-shaped structure in a modified Italian villa design, so popular in Victorian days. The great portico which in recent years has replaced the original one-story porch bears a marked resemblance to that at Mt. Vernon except

<sup>1</sup> This account is the result of collaboration between Mr. and Mrs. Jacobs, Mrs. Norris Harris and the Director of the Society, with the assistance of Miss Mary G. Howard, Mr. and Mrs. Gaylord Lee Clark, Miss Mary Hope Maynard and many others who kindly answered inquiries. For photographs of Grey Rock in former days the *Magazine* is indebted to Mrs. Herrick F. Kidder and Mr. Norris Harris. Miss Maynard and other kindly lent photographs for study.

that there are six columns instead of eight. The hexagonal brown brick flooring is copied from the same source. The entrance is through a double door, topped by a fanlight, leading into the central hall. Here the theme of the 18th century English country house strikes the keynote that is reflected throughout the first floor. Immediately on the right is the drawing room and opposite it the library, both unchanged in size. At the end of the hall is the original arched doorway, now leading to the ballroom, which has been added by the present owner and is furnished as a drawing room. West of it is the original dining room, now greatly enlarged. Since the furnishings include antique pieces of distinction as well as rare works of art of more recent date, a brief account of each room on the main floor will be of interest.

In the hall the visitor finds immediately on his left a full length portrait of Mrs. Jacobs, painted by Augustus John. There is a handsome gilt eagle table with an early gilt Georgian mirror above it. Nearby is a grandfather clock, made by Alex. Cumming, London, 1785, of walnut with inlaid satinwood and brass eagle finials. There is a story about this clock, acquired many years ago by Mrs. Jacobs in London. "Do you want modern works installed?" inquired the dealer. "Oh, no, that would be desecration," replied Mrs. Jacobs. Naturally, when it was placed in its present position no thought was given to having it put in running order. No one was more surprised than she, twenty years later, to learn from a visiting clockmaker that a minor repair was all that was needed. The clock is now faithfully striking the hours and chiming the quarter-hours, keeping perfect time.

The library at the left is paneled in dark native pine. The room is a replica of the Sutton Scarsdale room from Derbyshire, England, now in the Philadelphia Museum. The elaborate carving of the original woodwork has been reproduced with all its intricate design of birds, fruit and flowers. The depth of this carving is a modern marvel. The most striking furnishings are twin Queen Anne chests of drawers in oyster burl walnut and a pair of Queen Anne walnut side chairs having the original needlepoint seat covers. These and other pieces in this room were originally in various English estates. Two bronzes by Rodin, "The Wrestler" and "Mother and Child," provide striking accents. Over the mantel hangs a portrait of the late A. Ray Katz, first husband of



the present owner, painted by Sir William Orpen, whose portrait of Mrs. Jacobs' father, the late Jacob Epstein, is in the Epstein Gallery of the Baltimore Museum of Art.

Opposite the library is the drawing room, a replica of a room from Wrightington Hall, Lancashire, England, now in the Philadelphia Museum. The walls are painted a soft blue, like the original, and the draperies are golden. The furniture is of satinwood in the delicate design of the 18th century. Two niches containing a collection of Barye miniature bronzes flank the polychrome terra cotta head of Mrs. Jacobs by Jo Davidson, placed on a pedestal in the large bay window.

At the entrance to the ballroom a stair hall leads off at the left. Passing through the ballroom doorway the visitor descends a short sweeping stairway that was inspired by the staircase in Tulip Hill, the Galloway home on West River. The ballroom was added by Mrs. Jacobs about 25 years ago and is of imposing dimensions. It was the work of the late Benjamin Frank, the Baltimore architect, who specialized in 18th century restoration and spent several years in rebuilding Grey Rock in accordance with the owner's ideas.

According to notes written by Mr. Frank,

the salon of Whitehall, Anne Arundel County, was used as the principal source for the entrance way to the open air terrace, and the ornamentation was repeated in several other features. Whitehall was built about 1750 by Governor Horatio Sharpe.<sup>2</sup> The scale of the ballroom at Grey Rock is about two-and-a-half times that of Whitehall. The window trim (in the traditional rope motif descending into large 'ears') and that of subordinate doorways had their origin in the Chase House, built by Edward Lloyd in Annapolis in 1770.

The mantelpiece was inspired by one in the Mundy house in Dumfries, Prince William County, Virginia, built in 1756. The ornamentation, however, was taken from the doorway detail in the salon of Whitehall. The only exceptions in this ornamentation are the shell and scrolls on the frieze of the mantel shelf, which were copied from a mantel in the Brice House of Annapolis, built by 1740, by Thomas Jennings.

All the houses mentioned were built within thirty years of each other. The woodwork carving and ornamentation were instituted by indentured servants and slaves. Practically all the material at that time was Maryland white pine. However, in the ballroom of Grey Rock northern white pine was substituted.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Recent research has established 1764 as the date of the building of Whitehall.—*Ed.*

<sup>3</sup> Statement in possession of Mrs. Jacobs.

The furniture in the ballroom, including the silver, glass and porcelain, consists of English antiques selected by Mrs. Jacobs in London over a period of years. The walls are painted the soft green seen in the ballroom of the Governor's Palace at Williamsburg. The portraits are all in keeping with the 18th century theme. There are two by Gilbert Stuart: one of Lucia Gray, the other of John Fitzgibbon. Others are Lady Hayes, painted by John Hoppner, and Richard, second Earl of Scarborough, by J. B. Van Loo.

Perhaps the most unusual piece of furniture is a delicate ribbon-back Chippendale settee of mahogany, the identical piece featured in *The Dictionary of English Furniture*.<sup>4</sup> The pair of Chinese Chippendale side chairs are also very rare, as there exist in this country only a few examples, most of them in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The Sheraton breakfront bookcase is so massive that the wall paneling around it was designed to frame its unusual proportions. Its doors retain the original diamond-shaped convex panes. It houses a collection of fine porcelain, including a set of Coalport soup and service plates decorated with double coats-of-arms, those of husband and wife. Other pieces are a dessert service of Rockingham in dark red and gold, with the original compotes and smaller dishes for sweets, and an old Spode tea and coffee service in dark green and gold.

Near a window is a Chippendale loo game table having the original green baize covering, with matching silver candlesticks at the four corners. The latter date from circa 1690. A chess board of English design has contrasting squares of enamel and mother-of-pearl and the pieces are hand-carved ivory in red and white. An expert recently pronounced the set about 200 years old and one of the finest examples of Burmese ivory.

The twin chandeliers are replicas of those in the ballroom of the Governor's Palace at Williamsburg, Virginia. The wall sconces in the ballroom at Grey Rock were made with three branches instead of one, as at Williamsburg.

The dining room, which opens off the small hallway and also directly from the ballroom, is a replica of the "great chamber" in the Mount Pleasant mansion in Fairmount Park, Philadelphia,

<sup>4</sup> By Percy Macquoid and Ralph Edwards (London, 1924), III, 94.

at one time the home of Benedict Arnold. The room has been lengthened and widened to nearly double its original size. The walls are of the color called "ashes of roses" in accord with the original at Mount Pleasant.

According to a description by Emily Lantz in *The Sun* of January 28, 1906, the grounds of Grey Rock then abounded in Norway spruces, larches, horse chestnuts and maples with a double row of evergreens lining the approach drive. Impressive the setting remains, but many of the old trees have been victims of disease or storms. However, most of the evergreens survive. Each of the recent hurricanes has taken its toll and brought anguish to the hearts of the owners and their friends, but meticulous and loving care assure a continued atmosphere of calm and beauty.

With real vision Mrs. Jacobs has made several gardens which add to the charm of the estate. From the great east doorway of the ballroom one steps directly upon a rectangular stone-paved terrace which is sheltered by an ancient elm. Farther east and almost out of earshot from the house is the green garden. Simple in design, dominated by a huge tulip poplar and surrounded by double hedges, one of dwarf box and one of clipped English yew, the spot is a restful retreat. The only ornament is a three-tiered iron fountain.

To the west of the lawn lies the rose garden of oval design. Approaching from the house, the visitor finds his interest in this garden must be shared with the view of rolling hills and valleys that lie beyond.

The one remaining structure of the Howard regime is the two-story dairy and smoke-house combined, immediately behind the present mansion. The rugged masonry of its period is obvious on the northern side, dominated by a huge chimney. A few hundred yards farther north are two buildings dating from the Victorian period. Originally they were barns—the larger one for the farm animals and implements, the smaller for saddle and coach horses and vehicles.

Beyond these buildings and the residence of the manager, is the Howard family graveyard, enclosed by a stone wall and shaded by a catalpa and sassafras trees. About 50 by 50 feet, the plot is still Howard property. When the estate passed out of the hands of Howard descendants in 1857, the graveyard was specific-

ally reserved. Generations of Howards have believed that the first settler, Joshua, and his wife were interred there. If so, their tombstones have entirely disappeared. One record says that their gravestones were clearly visible in 1848.<sup>5</sup> Some accounts report that the whole space was once filled by graves and that several fieldstones designated the burial place of favorite slaves.<sup>6</sup> The care of the graveyard has been provided sometimes by the present owners and sometimes by the Howards and the present perfect condition is a tribute to all concerned. Last year a new marble tombstone for Cornelius, father of John Eager, was erected complete with handsomely carved armorial bearings. Today the old weather-worn stone on which the inscription is now barely visible, lies flat above the grave and at its head stands the new stone, an exact copy. The inscription is:

Sacred to the Memory  
of  
Mr. Cornelius Howard  
Who departed this Life on the  
14th of June 1777  
Aetat 70  
He was a Tobacco Planter in the  
County of Baltimore,  
Lived much esteemed,  
And died regreted by all.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Rev. Ethan Allen in *The Garrison Church* [St. Thomas Episcopal] edited by the Rev. Hobart Smith (New York, 1898), Part III, p. 132. Readers are cautioned against confusion in numbering of Allen's pages from page 129 to 134. Part III begins with a second set of page numbers from 129 on.

<sup>6</sup> The other gravestones now legible are those of Cornelius, II (1754-1844), his sister Ruth (Mrs. Charles Elder) (1747-1827); her son Charles Elder (died 1829, aged 53); Sally, his wife (died 1838, aged 66); Rebecca, their daughter (died 1873, aged 29); Mrs. Ruth Shipley (Mrs. William H.) (died 1854, aged 53); and Ruth E. Shipley, her daughter (died 1850, aged 28).

<sup>7</sup> To many it will be surprising to learn that a still older stone exists and is covered by the present flat stone. In other words, stone No. 1 lies prone above the grave. On top of it lies stone No. 2, bearing a weathered coat-of-arms and the inscription that has been quoted. Stone No. 3 is a duplicate of No. 2. No. 1 bears no arms. It is engraved merely with the words "Mr. Cornelius Howard. Died 14 June 1777, aet. 70." An old photograph shows it broken in several pieces and with the inscription just quoted incised in large characters. It is assumed that this is the original stone and that it was placed as a headstone soon after the death of Mr. Howard. When and why stone No. 2, with the elaborately carved coat of arms was erected as a head stone is not known. An article entitled "The Howards of Maryland" by Elizabeth Read in the *Magazine of American History* for April, 1879 (III, 239-249), reproduces the arms from this stone with the comment: "The escutcheon given at the foot of this article is from his tomb." Mrs. Read begins her account of the Howards with a reference to "their supposed ancestry, the Norfolk-Howards in the Kingdom of Great Britain." Burke's *Peerage*



The first Howard to settle in Baltimore County was Joshua Howard, Colonel John Eager Howard's grandfather, who in 1698 took up 150 acres including the present Grey Rock and gave it the name "Howard's Square" because, it is said, the tract was shaped like a carpenter's square.<sup>8</sup> This was at a time when the upland areas of Baltimore county were being settled, following occupation of the lands along the principal streams by the settlers who first ventured into the virgin wilderness. Comparatively little is known of Joshua. His relationship, if any, to Cornelius and Joseph Howard of Anne Arundel County who had arrived in Maryland thirty years earlier, has never been determined.<sup>9</sup> According to the lengthy obituary of Colonel Howard, printed in the *Baltimore American* and also in the *Baltimore Gazette* on October 15, 1827, Joshua Howard was a native of Manchester, England. As a youth and against his father's wishes, he joined the army of James II and participated in the defeat of the Duke of Monmouth's army at Sedgemoor. According to this account, he "was afterwards afraid to encounter his parent's displeasure, and came to seek his fortune in America." This was about the year 1685.<sup>10</sup>

does not sustain this idea, however, and it is known that the late Wilson Miles Cary, a genealogist of unimpeachable reputation, stated that there was no basis for the theory. Reliable information on the origin of the Howards is found in the statement of Col. Howard himself in a notebook once owned by J. Howard McHenry (1820-1888), grandson of Col. J. E. Howard, now in the possession of Mr. Gaylord Lee Clark. This quotes an original statement by Col. Howard, dated Feb. 17, 1810, and adds much later family data. The book is hereafter cited as "Howard McHenry record." Another useful source is a copy by the late Miss Rosa Howard of a MS book of Dr. J. McHenry Howard (another grandson of Col. Howard), hereafter called "Dr. Howard's record."

The arms on stones 2 and 3 appear to be those of the Howards of Norfolk. The motto on the stones is "Desir N'a Repose," which is that of the English Howards, though not that now used by the Howards of Norfolk.

<sup>8</sup> Patents, Liber CD, folio 1, Hall of Records. A tract of 500 acres was taken up Jan. 28, 1698, by Alexander Lumley, who then assigned 150 acres to Joshua Howard. Also Baltimore County Rent Roll, folio 163, Maryland Historical Society.

<sup>9</sup> Genealogies of the Anne Arundel Howards are to be found in Harry W. Newman, *Anne Arundel Gentry* (Baltimore, 1933), pages 237-308; Joshua D. Warfield, *Founders of Anne Arundel and Howard Counties* (Baltimore, 1905), p. 67-77; Henry R. Evans, *Progenitors of the Howards of Maryland* (Washington, D. C., [1938]), pp. 7-10. For more than 100 years the connection, if there is any, between these two families of similar given names, has been a mooted affair.

Notes on the Howards of Baltimore City and County are found in Lawrence B. Thomas, *The Thomas Book* (New York, 1897), pp. 362-364; Elizabeth Read, "The Howards of Maryland," *Magazine of American History*, April, 1879; Allen, *The Garrison Church*, p. 39; Part III, 131-134, and elsewhere in the Society's source materials.

<sup>10</sup> These identical newspaper accounts, more than a column long, were obviously based on information supplied by the family, doubtless by one of the sons of the



OLD HOWARD HOUSE AT GREY ROCK, WEST FRONT



GREY ROCK AS IT APPEARED UNTIL RECENT YEARS





THE LIBRARY, WITH A GLIMPSE OF THE HALL



THE DINING ROOM, LOOKING NORTH





THE BALL ROOM AT GREY ROCK, LOOKING NORTHEAST

Joshua married an Irish lady, Joanna O'Carroll, and they became the parents of seven children. At his death "Howard's Square" went to Cornelius, the second son, his elder brother Francis having left the country. The will of Joshua, probated in 1738, and now filed at the Hall of Records, Annapolis, calls Cornelius "my dear and well beloved son" and made him sole executor.<sup>11</sup> It refers to Howard's Square as "my dwelling plantation." The four daughters must have been provided for by dowries for each received by will "just one cow and calf and one shilling sterling and no more." Cornelius in 1738 married Ruth Eager, the daughter and heir of John Eager. Since her father owned much land in what is now the heart of Baltimore and her oldest brother George was lost at sea, Mrs. Cornelius Howard became possessed of extremely valuable property.<sup>12</sup>

Cornelius Howard acquired additional land and was an important figure in the neighborhood, serving as one of the original wardens of St. Thomas Church when it was established in 1745 as a chapel of ease of St. Paul's for the inhabitants living in "the Forest," as this section was then called.<sup>13</sup> Three of the sisters of Cornelius married into the Gist family, while Elizabeth, the youngest daughter, became Mrs. William Welles. Her place in family lore is assured by the episode in which her future husband played the hero. It appears that there were two ardent suitors for her hand. One day when riding horseback escorted by both gentlemen, she came to a swollen stream. In fording it Miss Howard lost her seat and fell into the water. The favored suitor unhappily made for land, but Mr. Welles leaped into the water and rescued the lady. The old chronicler adds that "she very wisely married him."<sup>14</sup>

Cornelius and Ruth were the parents of 11 children, the sixth having been John Eager, who was born June 4, 1752, in the old stone house already mentioned.<sup>15</sup> There is no occasion here to

deceased. The same statement concerning Joshua Howard is also found in the Howard McHenry record.

<sup>11</sup> Wills, Baltimore County, Liber 1, f. 296, Hall of Records.

<sup>12</sup> Allen, Part III, p. 132; Howard McHenry record; John T. Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1874), p. 423.

<sup>13</sup> Allen, pp. 38-39, Part III, 132, 184.

<sup>14</sup> Allen, Part III, pp. 131-132; Dr. Howard's record, p. 25.

<sup>15</sup> Allen, p. 39; Part III, p. 132; will of Cornelius Howard, Wills, Baltimore County, Liber 3, f. 355, Hall of Records; St. Thomas Episcopal Church Register, p. 11, copy in Md. Hist. Soc.

review the career of this distinguished man, who won the admiration of Maryland and of the nation for his private and public qualities. In 1776 he promptly answered the call to arms, was commissioned a captain and fought throughout the Revolution, except for intervals when he returned home on the occasion of his father's death, and again after being wounded at the Battle of Eutaw Springs. Promoted to colonel, he was voted a medal for gallantry in the Battle of Cowpens. In 1784 he was elected to the Continental Congress and then became the fifth governor of the State of Maryland, serving three one-year terms, 1788-1791. Thereafter he was elected to the legislature, served in the United States Senate for nine years and declined the offer of President Washington to be Secretary of War. He built the handsome residence Belvedere near what is now Calvert and Chase Streets, Baltimore, where he and his wife, Peggy Chew, dispensed hospitality on a large scale. He busied himself with his plantations and with managing his extensive city properties. From the Eager family through his mother he inherited a large portion of the west central section of the city. His various gifts of land for religious and patriotic purposes were capped by the presentation of the site of the Washington Monument.

At the death of Cornelius Howard, the Grey Rock property passed to his youngest son, James, a bachelor, veteran of the War and a famous sportsman, who lived there until his death in 1806.<sup>18</sup> In the division of his property among his brothers and sisters Howard's Square was acquired by his brother Cornelius, second of the name, also a bachelor. He was a Howard with a difference. He had remained loyal to Britain, though he did not don a uniform, and, like other Tories, had to pay double taxes on his property. He evidently retained his standing in the community, or regained it when the contest was over, for he became famous as an arbitrator and served in the House of Delegates and as judge of the Orphans Court. Shortly before his death in 1844 he sold part of Howard's Square to his great nephew, George

<sup>18</sup> Allen, Part III, p. 134; Dr. Howard's record, p. 45. The will of Cornelius (see note 15) left to his wife the dwelling plantation and lots in Baltimore Town not already leased, sold or disposed of by the will, together with three Negro men and two Negro women. The daughters likewise received one or two Negroes each and a grandson, George Howard Elder, was given a Negro boy. One of the witnesses was Thomas Cradock, son of the first rector of St. Thomas Church. The Cradock and Howard families were near neighbors and both John Eager Howard and his brother James were members of the Garrison Church vestry.



Howard Elder, son of his sister, Ruth and her husband, Charles Elder.<sup>17</sup> The remainder passed into Elder's possession a few years later.

After more than a century and a half of Howard ownership, the property was acquired in 1857 by Dr. James Maynard, member of a Maryland family who had practised medicine in Mississippi and accumulated a competence.<sup>18</sup> He it was who abandoned the old Howard house and built the original part of the present mansion. The architect for the structure is said to have been the designer of the First Presbyterian Church, Baltimore, erected 1855-1859.<sup>19</sup> He was Nathan G. Starkweather who built many homes in the Baltimore suburban area in the Italian villa style. Dr. Maynard is believed to have changed the name to Grey Rock, in recognition of the native grey stone of which the house was constructed.

Dr. Maynard had a brother Owen, sometime vestryman of St. Thomas, who died in the west leaving a wife and three children. Being a bachelor, the doctor invited his sister-in-law to bring her children and make their home at Grey Rock. She did so but the arrangement was not for long. On June 8, 1861, as the clouds of war hung over the country, Dr. Maynard died.<sup>20</sup> He bequeathed Grey Rock to his brother Richard F. Maynard and to Mrs. Owen Maynard. The latter's interest was soon acquired by Richard.

In 1862 a deed of confirmation was given by the Elders to Richard Maynard, confirming his title as devisee and trustee under the will of Dr. Maynard. This instrument was required by the fact that the original deed from Elder to Maynard had been destroyed by fire in the office of the county clerk and never recorded.<sup>21</sup> Richard Maynard was both a county planter and business man in Baltimore where he operated an agricultural supply store. No doubt he was interested in maintaining Grey Rock in a high state of improvement.

<sup>17</sup> Deeds, Baltimore County Court House, Liber TK No. 326, f. 457; will of Cornelius Howard, II, Wills, Baltimore County, Liber 20, f. 10, Hall of Records, and Agreement for division of his property, Deeds, Baltimore County, Liber AWB 350, f. 103, Baltimore City Court House.

<sup>18</sup> Alice N. Parran, *Series II of "Register of Maryland's Heraldic Families"* (Baltimore, [1938]), pp. 230-231; Emily E. Lantz, *Sunday Sun*, Jan. 28, 1906; statement of Miss Mary Hope Maynard, April 22, 1955.

<sup>19</sup> Lantz's article.

<sup>20</sup> *The Sun*, June 10, 1861, p. 2, col. 4.

<sup>21</sup> Confirmation of Dr. James Maynard's deed, dated Jan. 16, 1862. Baltimore County Deeds, Liber 34, f. 52. Also statement of Miss Maynard, great niece of Dr. Maynard, April 22, 1955; Parran, p. 231.



In 1882 Mr. Maynard disposed of the original tract, now expanded to 224 acres, for the sum of \$18,000. The new owner was William Baker Graves, a wealthy Baltimore merchant.<sup>22</sup> He was a descendant and namesake of William Baker, whose portrait by Tilyard, together with that of his wife, hangs in the gallery of the Maryland Historical Society.

Though several tracts of land were sold off from time to time, the Graves family retained the main Grey Rock estate till 1909 when it passed to Mrs. William H. Emory and her sister Miss Laura Hunt. The consideration for the 50 acres thus disposed of, including the house, was \$33,000. The new purchasers made their home at Grey Rock. In 1923, some years after Miss Hunt's death, Mrs. Emory sold the property to the late A. Ray Katz, official of the American Wholesale Corporation which had been founded many years before by his father-in-law, Jacob Epstein, capitalist and art patron.<sup>23</sup>

The original 150 acres of Howard's Square, increased from time to time to 224 acres, has been gradually reduced through the sale of various small tracts. The Graves family in 1895 sold a fraction of an acre to enlarge Alto Dale, the adjoining estate on the west, owned by Dr. John F. Goucher. This property is now the home of Mr. Jacob Blaustein. In the same year another fraction was sold to the trustees of Stone Chapel, the grounds of which were originally acquired from Dr. William Lyon. This Greek Revival structure was built by the Methodists in 1862 as the second home of a flourishing congregation in which Cornelius Howard, II, the Tory, and his great nephew, George H. Elder, were active workers.

A tract of 24 acres was acquired in 1899 by the late W. Irvine Keyser and another of 15 acres by the late Redmond C. Stewart in 1903. These properties lay on the north boundary and were made accessible by the cutting through of Park Heights Avenue.<sup>24</sup> The size of the Grey Rock estate at present is 65 acres.

<sup>22</sup> Deeds for these and later transfers of title are available in the Baltimore County Court House.

<sup>23</sup> See *The Jeffersonian* (Towson), Oct. 28, 1932, and *The Sun* (Baltimore), March 11, 1953.

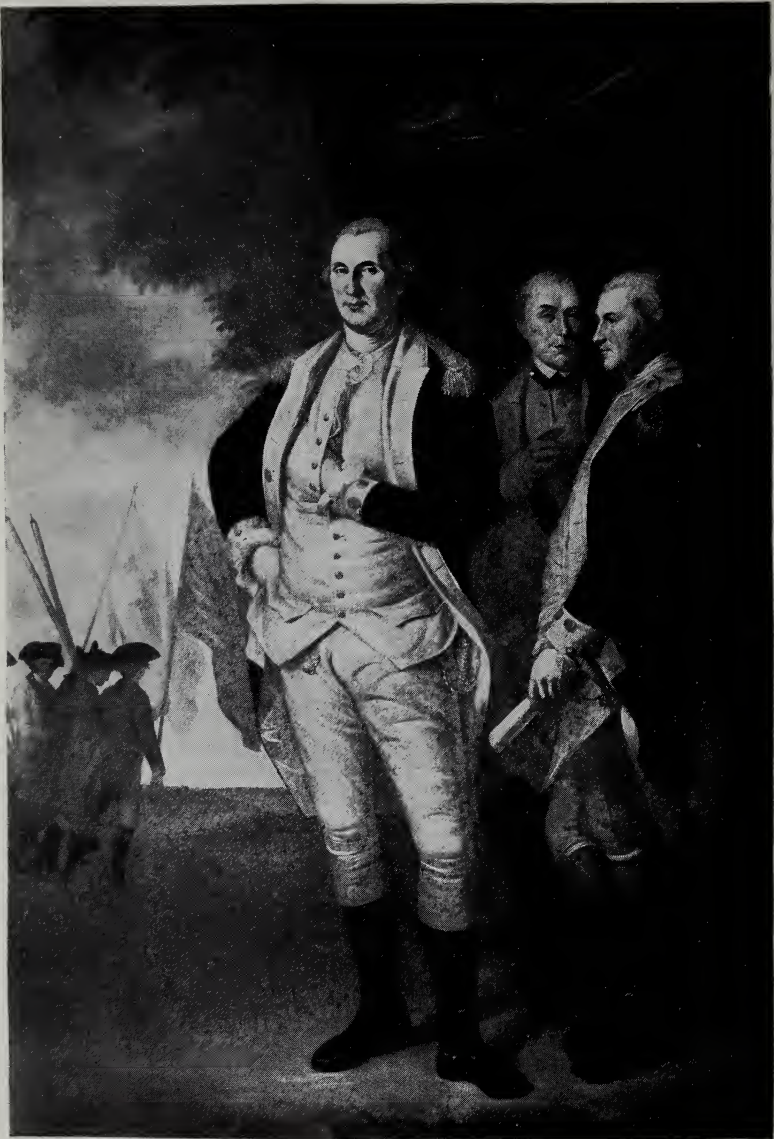
<sup>24</sup> See *Atlas of Baltimore . . .* (Philadelphia, G. M. Hopkins, 1877), II, 46, and *Atlas of Baltimore County* (Philadelphia, G. W. Bromley, 1898), plate 14.



### OLD HOWARD HOUSE AT GREY ROCK

By FRANK B. MAYER, 1846

This pencil drawing owned by Miss Mary Greenwood Howard is probably the oldest view of the house known as Howard's Square. Almost at a right angle to the east front of the stone house stood a separate building, reputedly of log construction, which served either as overflow accommodation for Cornelius Howard's large family or as combination kitchen and service quarters. The drawing is signed "F. M. 1846." This reproduction is actual size.



GENERAL WASHINGTON, GENERAL LAFAYETTE, and  
LT. COLONEL TILGHMAN

Charles Willson Peale, commissioned by the House of Delegates to paint a portrait of George Washington, added the figures of Lafayette and Tilghman. The painting still hangs in the State House.

*Photo courtesy Walters Art Gallery*

# REVOLUTIONARY MAIL BAG: GOVERNOR THOMAS SIM LEE'S CORRESPONDENCE

## PART VI

Edited by HELEN LEE PEABODY

(Concluded from Vol. 50, No. 1, March, 1955, p. 46)

THIS is the sixth and final installment in the series of letters and documents illustrating the service of Thomas Sim Lee as Governor of Maryland during the American Revolution.

Among the most valued papers in our collection are two letters connected with Admiral de Grasse. The first is the draft of the letter sent to de Grasse by Governor Lee on October 16, 1781, which brought an answer from the Admiral, dated the 18th, in which he casually remarked:

Ld. Cornwallis has surrendered, which perhaps you will not have heard before this reaches you. . . .

This great news of the actual surrender at Yorktown, Lee lost no time in communicating to Congress in Philadelphia, and we have the acknowledgment of this communication in a letter to Lee from Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, in our collection. The news received from Lee could, however, scarcely be believed in Philadelphia, until corroborated by the official announcement from General Washington. This arrived two days later, Washington's Aide, Col. Tench Tilghman, who carried the General's dispatches, having been unavoidably delayed by a series of misfortunes. The delay Tilghman explained in a letter to the General, dated October 27, 1781.<sup>1</sup> He said he had "found that a letter from Count de Grasse to Governor Lee, dated the 18th, had gone forward to Congress . . ." with the news of the surrender. Thus two Marylanders, Lee and Tilghman, played essential roles in giving the important news to Congress.

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<sup>1</sup> Printed in Oswald Tilghman, *History of Talbot County* (Baltimore, 1915), I, 26, and in Jared Sparks, *Correspondence of the American Revolution* (Boston, 1853), III, 434-435.



DANIEL CARROLL AND JOHN HANSON TO THOMAS SIM LEE <sup>2</sup>

(Hall of Records, Annapolis)

Dear Sir:

The contents of the inclosed <sup>3</sup> appear of such consequence that the expresses are immediately to be sent for, one to proceed by land and the other by water, from Head of Elk.

We have likewise thought it proper to forward Copy to you, not doubting but that you will think the intelligence of sufficient consequence to require a fast sailing boat to proceed with it to the Count De Grasse, lest the Letters sent by the President meet with some delay.

Daniel Carroll

John Hanson

THOMAS SIM LEE TO ADMIRAL DE GRASSE

(Draft in T. S. Lee Collection)

Annapolis, half after 4 o'clock

Tuesday Morning, October 16th, 1781

Sir,

The enclosures I received at three this morning, and as the information they contained is of very high importance, I have judged it expedient to take every possible chance of conveying it speedily to your Excellency.

Therefore, in addition to the dispatches sent by Congress over Land and by Water from the Head of Elk, I have the honor to send this by a fast sailing Boat from this Port.

The Enclosure No. 1 is a Copy of a Letter from Major General Heath, commanding the American Army on the North River, to the President of Congress, and No. 2 contains the intelligence which the General refers to.

I have the honor to be with  
the most respectful attachment

Your Excellency's  
Mo. obent. and Mo. Hble. Sert.

Tho. S. Lee

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<sup>2</sup> Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLVII, 522.

<sup>3</sup> The enclosure referred to, a copy of a letter from Maj. Gen. William Heath to Thomas McKean, President of Congress, dated October 7 and printed in *ibid.*, is explained in the letter from Governor Lee to Admiral de Grasse.

*Enclosure No. 1*<sup>4</sup>

From Major Gen. Heath commanding American Army on North River to His Excellency, the President of Congress.

Headquarters  
Continental Village

Sir:

Between twelve and one o'clock this morning, I received the inclosed intelligence through a channel which generally afforded such as has been authentic.

*Enclosure No. 2*

"The distresses of the Tories and Loyalists at New York, as well as the principal officers of their Army, for Lord Cornwallis is hardly to be described."

My correspondent informs me that they put the *Issue of the Contest* almost upon his defense or defeat—the latter they expect, and almost realize his capture.

Admiral de Grasse's reply, written from his Flagship on the 18th and received by Lee on the 20th, was immediately translated from the French by Charles Carroll of Carrollton, to be transmitted post-haste to Congress in Philadelphia.

ADMIRAL DE GRASSE TO THOMAS SIM LEE<sup>5</sup>

(Papers of Continental Congress, National Archives)

Sir: I have the honor to thank Yr. Excellency for Yr. news which you have been pleased to communicate.

I have just desired Gen. Washington to send me back my troops, of which probably he will no longer stand in need, as L<sup>d</sup>. Cornwallis has surrendered, which perhaps you will not have heard before this reaches you; as soon as they are embarked, I shall quit the Bay of Chesapeake &

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<sup>4</sup> These enclosures, extracts from the letter cited in note 3, are found in the Washington MSS, Library of Congress.

<sup>5</sup> Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLVII, 526.

See Charles Carroll of Carrollton to his father on Oct. 20 (Carroll MSS, Md. Hist. Soc.): "I give you joy on the surrender of Ld. Cornwallis. . . . This glorious news is just come to town & I have had the pleasure of communicating it to the Public by turning into English Count de Grasse's letter to the Governor dated on board la ville de Paris of 18th instant."

Again, five days later, "I had the pleasure of breakfasting on monday morning at the Governor's with Col. Tilghman, express from Gen. Washington to Congress."

I will endeavor still to contribute to the welfare of the U. S. in stopping, if I can, Sir Henry Clinton.

I have the honor to be with the most  
respectful attachment

Yr. Excellency's

Most obdt. hum. Sert.

De Grasse

La Ville de Paris  
18th Oct. 1781

THOMAS SIM LEE TO THOMAS MCKEAN

(Papers of the Continental Congress, National Archives)

*Public Service*

His Excellency

The President of Congress, Philadelphia

To be forwarded by Night and by Day with the utmost Dispatch.

*Lord Cornwallis surrendered* the Garrison of York to General Washington the 17th Oct.

Thos. S. Lee

Received at 2 o'clock

A. M. Oct. 22nd, 1781—

by Tho. McKean <sup>6</sup>

Annapolis, October 20th, 1781

Sir,

I have the honor to congratulate your Excellency on the Surrender of Earl Cornwallis to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Army.

This most important and Interesting Event was this morning communicated to me by the Count de Grasse, a copy of whose Letter I beg leave to enclose for the more perfect Satisfaction of your Excellency.

With sentiments of the highest respect and Esteem, I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's Most Obedient and Humble Servant

Thos. S. Lee

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<sup>6</sup> This superscription appears on the cover of the following letter in which Governor Lee enclosed that of Admiral de Grasse.

DANIEL OF ST. THOMAS JENNIFER TO THOMAS SIM LEE

(T. S. Lee Collection)

Sir:

Parker <sup>7</sup> delivered your Excell<sup>s</sup>. letter to the President of Congress about one oClock this morning informing of the Capture of Lord Cornwallis. His Excellency informed me that your attention required a politer acknowledgem[en]t than he had at present time to make & therefore was obliged to delay his Letter of acknowledgement till tomorrow.

I most sincerely congratulate Your Excellency on this most important Event much heightened by little or no loss to the American Army. With my respectful compliments to the Council.

I am

Sir Yr. Excellency's most Obed Servt

Dan of St Tho Jennifer <sup>8</sup>

Oct. 22d. 1781

The actual terms of capitulation carried by Colonel Tilghman were received by Congress on October 23, two days later. On receipt of the official news general rejoicing took place.

GEORGE WASHINGTON TO THOMAS SIM LEE <sup>9</sup>

(Washington MSS, Library of Congress)

Camp near York, October [30,] 1781.

Dear Sir,—

Inclosed I have the honor of transmitting to your Excellency the terms upon which Lord Cornwallis has surrendered the Garrisons of York and Gloucester.

We have not been able yet, to get an Acct. of Prisoners, Ordnance or Stores in the departments, but, from the best general report, there will be (officers included) upwards of seven thousand Men besides Seamen; More that 70 pieces of Brass Ordnance, and a hundred of Iron, with their Stores, as also other movable articles.

My present engagements will not allow me to add more than my congratulation on this happy event, and to express the high sense I have of the powerful Aid which I have derived from the State of Maryland, in complying with every request to the Executive of it. The Prisoners

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<sup>7</sup> Captain Parker of Lafayette's staff.

<sup>8</sup> Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer (1723-1790), of Charles County, who served in the Continental Congress from 1778 to 1782.

<sup>9</sup> Printed in Fitzpatrick, *Washington*, XXIII, 303.



will be divided between Winchester in Virginia, and Fort Frederick in Maryland.

With every sentimt. of the most perfect esteem and regard, I have the honor to be Your Excellency's most obedient servant

George Washington

EDWARD LLOYD TO THOMAS SIM LEE

(T. S. Lee Collection)

My dear Sir,

I cannot but congratulate Your Excellency upon the Happy Circumstance of the Surrendor of His Lordship.

Pray be so kind as to send me the particulars by the return of Capt Valiant,<sup>10</sup> who will return immediately upon the delivery of his load for Wye River. The Capt. has one hundred c[or]ds of wood for you, which I hope will please.

Mrs. Lloyd joins in Compliments to Mrs. Lee and yourself.

I am, my dear Sir, with the Greatest Respect and Esteem

Your mo. Obed<sup>t</sup>. & hum<sup>ble</sup> Ser<sup>vt</sup>.

Edw. Lloyd

Monday Oct. 22<sup>d</sup>, 1781.

I shall have the pleasure to take you by the Hand, the next week. I send you by the Cap<sup>t</sup>. a Haunch of Venison—it is not very fat, but it is the best I have killed.

JAMES MCHENRY TO THOMAS SIM LEE <sup>11</sup>

(T. S. Lee Collection)

Camp before York  
23d October, 1781

My dear Sir:

The Marquiss, whom I accompanied, returned last night from a conference with Count de Grasse, and today we are preparing for the reduction of the British post at Wilmington. He is commander-in-chief on this occasion, and is to have under him the Maryland troops, the Pennsylvanians, and one Virginia regiment.

There may be a sort of naval co-operation, but I cannot say to what extent, as this will be an affair of circumstances. The troops go by water. I have to intreat the Senate, to whom your Excellency will be pleased

<sup>10</sup> Undoubtedly the captain of Lloyd's vessel. At this time Edward Lloyd (1744-1796), of Wye, Talbot County, was a state senator.

<sup>11</sup> Printed in *A Sidelight on History*, pp. 75-76.

to commit this request, to permit me to see this operation closed. It is one which, should it be happy, may add greatly to the ease of their seats.

If the enterprise terminates in their favor, and what I fear most is their evacuating their post; if one other can be accomplished, which is not wholly impossible, and if a war does not take place in Germany, which is more than possible; I would almost venture to congratulate your Excellency on a tolerable peace, and that, too, not very distant.

With the utmost respect, I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's most obst.

James McHenry

His Excellency  
Governor Lee

NATHANAEL GREENE TO THOMAS SIM LEE <sup>12</sup>

(Hall of Records, Annapolis)

Head Quarters high hills Santee

Oct<sup>o</sup> 24h 1781

Dear Sir

Inclosed I send you a Return of the troops belonging to your State serving with this Army, and I am happy to hear of a considerable force having arrived in Virginia under General Gist, & joined Gen<sup>l</sup>. Washington in his operations against Lord Cornwallis.<sup>13</sup> Those reinforcements could they have reached us a little earlier would have been of great importance; for the want of which I have been in the greatest distress, however by patience and perseverance we have overcome all difficulties. The gallant behavior of your line in the last action, places them in the highest point of military glory.

This appears to me to be a Crisis of American affairs. If General Washington is successful against Lord Cornwallis which hardly admits of a doubt, it will afford leisure and opportunity to the United States, provided they improve it properly, of preparing themselves to meet the enemy upon more equal ground than they have contended with them for a long time past, not to say, from the beginning of the War. I hope Maryland will lose no time in compleating her line to the establishment; it will give security to herself & proper aid to her distressed neighbours, who have suffered more by the war than she has.

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<sup>12</sup> Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLVII, 533-534.

<sup>13</sup> Enclosure not located.

I wish you an honorable and happy administration, beloved by your friends and feared by your enemies.

With sentiments of esteem and regard  
I have the honor to be Sir  
Your Most Obedient  
humble Serv.

Nath Greene

His Excellency  
Thomas Lee Esq<sup>r</sup>

THOMAS SIM LEE TO NATHANAEL GREENE  
(T. S. Lee Collection)<sup>14</sup>

Annapolis December 6, 1781

Dear Sir:

I have the honor of two letters from you of late date.<sup>15</sup> The latter came opportunely to hand as the General Assembly of the State were on the point of meeting. I had an immediate opportunity of submitting the important subjects of them to their consideration.

The former letter I also had the pleasure of communicating to the Legislature and have not a doubt, but they will feel the force of your judicious observations in the same degree that I have done.

The confessed merit of General Greene will always give a powerful support to every proposition he may make, more especially in the Southern States, where the good effects of his wise conduct and most excellent generalship have been more especially felt.

The reinforcement from this State I must confess, was long getting to you, but the reduction of Lord Cornwallis's Army I hope will induce you to forget the hard stress and difficulties you encountered from the want of assistance; and the officers and soldiers having a share in the glory of that event, will aspire to the honour of rising to the Summit of Military fame, to which you have conducted the Southern Army.

I most sincerely wish you the reward justly due to your eminent services. I can assure you of the grateful acknowledgements of this State, and I have the honor to be

My dear General  
With the highest and most perfect esteem  
Your mo. ob. & mo. humble servant  
Thos. S. Lee

<sup>14</sup> Governor Lee's file copy.

<sup>15</sup> See previous letter; the second letter has not been identified.

JAMES MCHENRY TO THOMAS SIM LEE <sup>16</sup>

(T. S. Lee Collection)

Camp before York,  
27 October, 1781.

My dear Sir:

The capture of Lord Cornwallis has finished our war in Virginia. The Army is folding up its tents, and I am preparing to leave it in a few days, to pay to Mrs. Lee and to you my most dear and affectionate respects.

The Marquiss perhaps will be of the party, for I fear the enterprise mentioned in the inclosure <sup>17</sup> will not take place.

You will know why it has failed when we meet, and this may be shortly, as Forrest's last letter will not admit of my making another expedition.<sup>18</sup>

The fleet sails in two or three days. A small force will be left in the Bay.

It is likely the Count Rochambeau's headquarters will remain in this State. The troops of Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Virginia will join General Greene. These last are the out lines.

With the most sincere regard and attachment,

I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's most obst.

James McHenry

His Excellency  
Gov. Lee

PEREGRINE FITZHUGH TO THOMAS SIM LEE

(T. S. Lee Collection)

Nov. 1st, 1781

Dear Sir,

I arrived home last evening, and have the honor to forward to your Excellency some letters put into my Hands at York, which place I left the evening before. I also take the liberty to send to your care a Letter to Gen<sup>l</sup>. Smallwood from the Commander in Chief, who begs it may be forwarded with all possible dispatch, containing matters interesting.<sup>19</sup>

You no doubt have heard of the preparations which were making at New York for the relief of L<sup>d</sup> Cornwallis however feeble it would have

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<sup>16</sup> Printed in *A Sidelight on History*, pp. 76-77.

<sup>17</sup> Enclosure not located.

<sup>18</sup> Uriah Forrest (1756-1805).

<sup>19</sup> Probably the letter from Washington to Smallwood, dated Oct. 25, 1781, and printed in Fitzpatrick, *Washington*, XXIII, 263-264.



been, it is clear Sir H. Clinton intended the attempt, as he has within these two days past, made his appearance off our Capes with a Fleet of 24 Line of battle ships and about 30 of other kinds, 24 of which are said to be fire ships.

The Count de Grasse is truly anxious to go out after them, and only waits to secure the transportation of the Troops, Artillery etc., destined for the eastward up the Bay of Chesapeake, indeed he had determined should the British Fleet again make their appearance, to put to sea after them and leave a sufficient Guard for the forementioned purpose.

I presume the letters you receive with this will inform you of the different Corps, but lest they should not, I will observe—that all the Troops eastward of Pennsylvania will return to New York; those of that State and southward of it, to be sent immediately to join Gen<sup>l</sup> Greene.

The Count Rochambeau with his Troops I believe are to be left at York & its Vicinity for the winter.

I have had a fever for several days past which induced me to take a passage up the Bay, and I had a very quiet and pleasant one—my indisposition still continues, as soon as I am perfectly recovered I shall do myself the honor to wait on your Excellency. I was favored with yours of the 19<sup>th</sup> Ult. with its inclosures— be pleased to accept my thanks for it.<sup>20</sup>

I have at present only to add my respectful compliments to Mrs. Lee & an assurance that I shall ever esteem myself happy in the honor of subscribing myself

Yr Excellency's most obe<sup>n</sup> Sert  
Perregrine Fitzhugh

P. S. I have been fortunate in securing 21 Slaves of my Father's—16 are already arrived at this place and the other five Mr. A. Steward is to bring up. Mr. Wilkes with his family attempted after the capitulation to escape, but were taken up and carried on board the Fleet.

THOMAS SIM LEE TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

(Washington MSS, Library of Congress)

Annapolis November 18, 1781

Sir—

I had the Honor to receive Your Excellency's favor of the 16th yesterday afternoon.<sup>21</sup> The State of Maryland is most flattered for your attention to the Subject of my last Council. Col. Tilghman received his letter,

<sup>20</sup> This letter not located.

<sup>21</sup> Original letter in Hall of Records, Annapolis. See *Calendar of Maryland State Papers—The Brown Books* (Annapolis, 1948), item 543; it is printed in Fitzpatrick, *Washington*, XXIII, 345-346, and *Archives of Maryland*, XLVII, 551.

as soon as it came to my hands; he is now in town, and writes by this opportunity.<sup>22</sup>

I am very happy to hear Your Excellency intends to take Annapolis in your Route Northward. Permit me to request, as a particular favor that you will do me the honor of making my House Headquarters, while you are pleased to remain with us.

I have the honor to be with  
Sentiments of the highest personal  
respect & Esteem

Your Excellency's Obed Serv.

Thomas S. Lee

JOHN HANSON TO THOMAS SIM LEE

(T. S. Lee Collection)

Philadelphia Nov. 27<sup>th</sup> 1781

My Dear Sir

General Washington Arrived here last Evening, I have not yet had the pleasure of seeing him, every testimony of Joy and respect will, I dare say, be Shewn on the Occasion.

Our Labours, my Dear Sir, it is to be hoped are drawing to a period, provided a proper use is made of this winter. Let us not entertain the Sentiment that our late Extraordinary Successes have Superseded the necessity of any further Extraordinary Exertions, as has been too often the Case. but on the Contrary let us Strain every nerve to drive the Enemy from every part of our Country in the next Campaign; untill that is done, there can be but little hopes of peace—While they have Any Military force in the United States and can preserve a gleam of hope of Conquering or regaining America; no depredations on their Commerce, no loss of Dominions in the East or West Indies, will induce them to make peace, because with America reunited to them, they may think they could easily regain Whatever they may now loose—One more vigorous Campaign might Effect the purpose, would end all our toils, and secure to us the Blessings of peace and independence, which we have been so long, and so Virtuously Struggling for—

The British fleet, as generally believed, has left the hook, and gone to the West Indies. The report we had some time ago of their having sent a reenforcement to Charles Town, it is probable is not true, as it is pretty Certain, that their whole fleet returned from the Chesapeak, to

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<sup>22</sup> This letter not located.

the Hook and landed their Troops. Wishing you health and happiness,  
I am, my Dear Governor

Your Excellencys most obed<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

John Hanson

I wrote you by the last post.

# RESOLUTION BY THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES

(T. S. Lee Collection)

November 23, 1781

Unanimously Resolved, That the Governor be requested to write to Mr. Peale of Philadelphia to procure, as soon as may be, the Portrait of His Excellency, General Washington, at full length, to be placed in the House of Delegates in grateful remembrance of that most Illustrious Character.

THOMAS SIM LEE TO CHARLES WILLSON PEALE

(Draft in T. S. Lee Collection)

December 7, 1781

My dear Sir:

The Honorable Delegates of Maryland have Unanimously resolved to have the Portrait of His Excellency General Washington, at full length, to be placed in their House, in grateful remembrance of that most Illustrious Character. And at the same time that Honorable Branch of the Legislature requested me to apply to you to have the work executed.

The Picture is desired as soon as may be, but, as I wish to have it as perfect as possible I beg you will not regard time trouble or expense in the execution. I shall be glad to know when I may expect the piece to be finished, and what you may consider as a satisfactory payment.<sup>23</sup>

I am Sir

Your Ob<sup>d</sup> & Hum<sup>b</sup> Ser

Thos. S. Lee

[Superscription reads:]

Mr. Peale the Limner, requesting Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington's Picture, with a resolution of the House of Delegates inclosed.

<sup>23</sup> The State ordered a portrait of General Washington, and Peale added the figures of Lafayette and Tilghman. The finished portrait delivered to Annapolis in December, 1784, still hangs in the State House. For details see Charles C. Sellers, *The Artist of the Revolution* (1939-1947), I, 235-236, and the same author's *Portraits and Miniatures by Charles Willson Peale* (1952), p. 236.

The bill for the portrait, approved by Gov. Wm. Paca and receipted by Peale, is among the manuscripts in the Library of the Maryland Historical Society.

THE CHEVALIER DE LA LUZERNE TO GOVERNOR LEE  
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Philadelphia June 25, 1782

Sir,

I have the honor to acquaint your Excellency, that I have received an order from the King to celebrate by a public entertainment the happy event of the birth of a Dauphin.<sup>24</sup>

The day fixed upon for this entertainment is the 15th of July next, and it will be extremely flattering for me, if circumstances allow it, to be honored with the presence of your Excellency and Mrs. Lee.

As there may be several of your acquaintances, Sir, who would be glad to join in this public rejoicing, I beg leave to inclose some cards, which you will be so obliging to divide according to your own choice.

I am with great respect Sir

Your Excellency's most obedient  
and most humble servant  
Chevalier de la Luzerne

P. S. I beg leave to inclose two letters for Mrs. Lloyd from Europe, and Mrs. Platter [Plater], which I beg your Excellency to forward.

THOMAS SIM LEE TO THE CHEVALIER DE LA LUZERNE  
(Draft in T. S. Lee Collection)

Annapolis, July 3, 1782

Sir,

I have this day been honored with your Excellency's letter of the 25th of last month.

Mrs. Lee and I lament most sincerely that circumstances will not admit of our making compliments in person to your Excellency, for the honor of your invitation; and through a regard for whatever affects the interest or happiness of the King, alone could induce us a second time to manifest the joy we feel in the happy event you are about to celebrate, yet be assured, Sir, that personal considerations add greatly to the desire we have, of participating in the pleasures and amusements prepared for the occasion. The enclosure from Mrs. Lloyd will inform your Excellency I have delivered one of your letters—the one for Mrs. Plater is already forwarded.

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<sup>24</sup> This Dauphin died young and was not the famous one so tragically imprisoned during the French Revolution.



The cards you were pleased to favor me with, are a very flattering Compliment, and I trust such disposition is made of them as to lay many worthy Citizens of Maryland under singular obligation for your polite attention.

Permit me to present Mrs. Lee's and my united compliments and to beg Your Excellency will do me the justice to believe that I am

Your Excellency's Mo. Obe Serv.

Thos. S. Lee

#### PROCLAMATION ANNOUNCING BIRTH OF DAUPHIN

(From *Maryland Journal* [Baltimore], June 18, 1782, p. 3, col. 2.)

By His Excellency THOMAS SIM LEE, Esquire,  
Governor of Maryland,

#### A PROCLAMATION.

The Secretary of Foreign Affairs having, by the Direction of the United States in Congress assembled, announced the Birth of a DAUPHIN of FRANCE; I do, in consequence of the unanimous Request of the General Assembly, appoint *Tuesday* the twenty-fifth Instant for the celebration of the auspicious Event; and I cannot doubt that the Citizens of this State will unite in the Joy which an Occasion so nearly affecting the Happiness of our Ally, will not fail to inspire, while they experience a new Source of Satisfaction on the Birth of a Prince from whom we have every Reason to expect a Continuance of the Blessings of our Alliance—the same lively Attention to the Injured and Oppressed, and all those great and good Qualities which have excited our Admiration and Gratitude, and which so eminently distinguish his illustrious Father.<sup>25</sup>

Given at Annapolis, this Thirteenth Day of June, in the Sixth  
Year of Our Independence, and in the Year of our Lord  
One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty-two.

THO. S. LEE.

By his Excellency's Command,  
T. JOHNSON, jun. Secretary.  
GOD save the STATE

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<sup>25</sup> Accounts of the celebrations in Annapolis and Baltimore are printed in the *Journal*, July 2, p. 3, col. 1; the celebration in Philadelphia in *ibid.*, July 9, pp. 2-3.

JAMES MCHENRY TO THOMAS SIM LEE <sup>26</sup>  
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Philadelphia, 29th Octbr<sup>e</sup> 1782

My dear Sir.

You are now about to leave your government, having served us the full period which our constitution admits of. I do not intend to flatter you, when I say, that you will return into the common mass of citizens with a lustre which cannot be easily extinguished. Many will regret your departure, though such is human nature, that few will shew their regrets at the table of your successor.

Your partner in dignity, Mrs. Lee, has acquitted herself so as to gain praises from everyone. Her absence we shall not scruple to lament, even in the bosom of the Republican Palace.

Take with you my best wishes to your country retirement, for I shall not be present at your leaving Annapolis; and be happy there, a blessing never yet found in any public situation. I have one request to make, and let me hope you will not think it owing to affectation. It is, that you will not cease to consider me as one who has been invariably your friend, and who shall always have for you and Mrs. Lee the most cordial esteem and attachment.

Adieu, most sincerely and affectionately  
James McHenry

GEORGE PLATER AND THOMAS COCKEY DEYE TO THOMAS SIM LEE  
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Sir,

The faithful execution of the Trust reposed in you as First Magistrate of the State, together with your genteel and polite deportment towards all Ranks have given general satisfaction and justly claim our warmest acknowledgments.

Your close attention to the public welfare and your firm unshaken conduct in the time of greatest danger are proofs that the confidence of your Country has not been misplaced, and your strict regard to the requisitions of Congress and of the Commander-in-Chief, and the polite Treatment of the Officers of His Most Christian Majesty, has done Honour to the State.

Accept, Sir, this public Testimony of our approbation and our sincerest thanks for the Zeal, Activity, and Firmness with which you have so faithfully discharged the Duties of your Station.

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<sup>26</sup> Passages relating to private business omitted from this unpublished letter.

We are with the highest esteem and respect on behalf of the General Assembly

Sir

Your most obedient  
and

Most humble Servants

Geo. Plater Pres. of the Senate

Thos Cockey Deye, Speaker of H. D.

Nov. 22, 1782

THOMAS SIM LEE TO PLATER AND DEYE

(Draft in T. S. Lee Collection)

November 22<sup>d</sup>—1782

Gentlemen:

I feel myself happy in having executed the powers intrusted to me, to the satisfaction of my Country.

That my Conduct in time of danger, and my attention to the resolves of Congress and the requisitions of the Commander-in-Chief, should receive the approbation and thanks of the Honorable body over whom you preside, excites the most pleasant ideas with the warmest emotions of gratitude.

It gives me pleasure that the treatment with which I distinguished the Officers of His most Christian Majesty, has attracted the notice of the General Assembly. If my Endeavors to support the dignity of my Station, have exceeded the strict bounds of Economy, I was influenced by a zeal for the Honor of my Country, and a desire of winning the Esteem and affection which this State entertains for its Illustrious Ally, and his Generous Subjects, and I did not fail to assure them that I could not otherwise comply with the expectations of my Countrymen.

I have the Honor to be with the most respectful attachment, Gentlemen,

Your Mo. Obed<sup>n</sup> H<sup>m</sup> Ser<sup>nt</sup>

Thos S. Lee

of Maryland

To the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Geo. Plater

President of the Senate

and the Hon<sup>able</sup> Tho. Cockey Deye,

Speaker of the House of Delegates

This concludes the selection of letters relating to Governor Lee's first administration. His second administration, to which he was elected in 1792 following the death of Governor George Plater, continued until 1794. He declined in 1798 to serve a third term.

# A VIRGINIAN AND HIS BALTIMORE DIARY: PART II

Edited by DOUGLAS GORDON

(Continued from Vol. XLIX, No. 3, September, 1954, p. 213)

THIS is the second installment of the Diary of John Montgomery Gordon (1810-1884). As in the first published portion, it has not been possible to identify or elaborate upon every person, place, or event mentioned. Identifications noted in the first installment are as a rule not repeated.

Sunday May 24<sup>th</sup> Alex<sup>r</sup>. was left by the boat this morning and as he has not come in to breakfast, I conclude he went off in the 8 o'clock stage.<sup>1</sup> We employed ourselves last evening in . . . the little presents for the grandchildren . . . assorted my. . .

Went to Catholic Church.<sup>2</sup> What an addition fine music is to worship. I always feel more devout in that church than in any other. I am particularly struck with the devotion of the blacks and lower orders of whites. That habit which they have of crowding round the pulpit during the sermon is not without its good effects on those of the higher ranks who occupy "the first seats in the synagogue." When one has a miserable object before his eye as I had last Sunday (a wretched female whose eye and nose were eaten up by a cancer) it gives him a just idea of his own nature, and fills his heart and mind with gratitude and adoration for his own blessings. The sermon was execrable,—full of fire and brimstone. The preacher was one of those men of ulcerated imagination whose minds sit brooding over terror and who acknowledges God only in the earth quake and tornado, paving hell with the skull bones of infants and condemning his brother with a malignant pleasure of a fiend, to endless torments, and all for the Glory of God. Yet still there is a pleasure even in the contemplation of such awfull thoughts. Walked after dinner and read until bed time.

Monday May 25<sup>th</sup>. Rose at 7. Went to Bank at 8 o'clock and attended a general meeting of the Stockholders of Union Bank at 11. Voted for

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<sup>1</sup> Rebecca Gordon Poultney, of Baltimore, is the owner of the portrait of John M. Gordon by George Linen (1802-1888), reproduced with the first installment.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the Cathedral, although he could have attended services at St. Peter's or St. Patrick's.



the Extension of the charter. Attended court and read during the morning. Afternoon, napped it and walked. Read Walsh's appeal to Emily till bed time, the part on slavery. The fullest and best written thing on the subject I am acquainted with. Dew (the professor) has a very excellent pamphlet on the abolition of slavery in Va.; published a year or two since.<sup>3</sup>

Tuesday May 26<sup>th</sup>. Rose at 6. Went to market. We have strawberries and pease now. I saw lobsters this morning for the first time. The day is fine and close. My old. . . .

Wednesday May 27. I rec<sup>d</sup>. a letter yesterday from Bazil Gordon. He was to sail next day in the Hibernia. I had my head examined by a Phrenologist yesterday.<sup>4</sup> He was wrong in almost every point of my character and appeared to be an arrant quack. I have some faith in the science. We were asked to join a party down to Annapolis this afternoon, in the new boat that has just been finished for the Carolina route.<sup>5</sup> Didn't go. I have been reading Walsh's appeal to day to finish before I leave for Va. I completed copying this morning the family record of the Fitzhughs, Eliza Gordon<sup>6</sup> sent me. The races are going on at the Kendal course.<sup>7</sup> I have attended none of them. Emily has gone round to Mrs. Kemp's and I stop here to join her and take our usual walk. We have missed them for several evenings.

Thursday May 28<sup>th</sup> 1835. Went to Kendal races at 12 o'clock in boat with Nicholas and Davies. There were two races. Both very pretty. Johnson took the second. I should have enjoyed myself very much but that the heats were broken and we were kept on the ground until 4½ o'clock. Went in the evening to Lorman's,<sup>8</sup>—pleasant party, number of persons present. We had music and cream and strawberries. Got home at 10½.

Friday May 29<sup>th</sup>. Rose late this morning. Went to market after breakfast. Strawberries are becoming very abundant. Soft crabs could not be more plentiful. To day the black cook who killed Capt. ----- in the West Indies is to be hung,—poor fellow I wish it was over.<sup>9</sup> Read in

<sup>3</sup> A copy of the second edition of *An Essay on Slavery*, by Thomas D. Dew (Richmond, 1849), is in the Library of the Maryland Historical Society.

<sup>4</sup> O. S. Fowler and K. E. Burhans advertised phrenological lectures and examinations at Trades Union Hall, Gay and Baltimore streets, in *The American* (Baltimore), May 25, 1835, p. 3, col. 3.

<sup>5</sup> The *South Carolina*, Captain Rollins; see *American*, May 27, 1835, p. 1, col. 4, and May 30, p. 2, col. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Eliza Fitzhugh, wife of J. M. G.'s oldest brother, Wm. Knox Gordon.

<sup>7</sup> The steamboat *Relief*, Captain Weems, left the intersection of Light and Pratt streets every hour from 9:00 A.M. and took passengers to the "Kendall Race Course," presumably at Canton. Passage: 12½ cents each way. *American*, May 25, 1835, p. 3, col. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Wm. Lorman's magnificent home on the east side of Charles Street, between Lexington and Fayette streets.

<sup>9</sup> William Adams was hanged for the murder of Captain Tilden on May 29. See *American*, May 30, p. 2, col. 1.

the morning, attended court and walked. In the afternoon Miss Lucy Kenny called in with her pamphlet and some parson, which I had to buy to g[et rid of them]. George Biddle . . . in too. . . .

Saturday May 30. Rose at 7. Monday we shall leave for Fredg. Reced<sup>d</sup>. a letter from Alx<sup>r</sup>. The mere mention of the beauties of Kenmore makes me sick to be once more in its shades. The summer has come down upon us piping hot.

Thursday June 4th. I got to Kenmore on Tuesday by Smith's Line at about 12 o'clock noon. We found only a few of the family at home,—my father and mother, Susan and Agnes.<sup>10</sup> Mary was up waiting for our arrival.<sup>11</sup> Wm., Wt. and Alx<sup>r</sup>. were at Waverly, Sam and Bazil at home, and Eliza and Children at Santee,—all looking very well and very happy to have us back again.<sup>12</sup> We dine to day at Uncle B's in Falmouth.<sup>13</sup> I am very sorry to find aunt Agnes in such bad spirits,—poor thing. How often do I wish I was a wealthy man only to give it away in making people happy. How ignorant the rich generally are of the exquisite pleasures money can buy! I saw yesterday T. Knox and family, Bell and wife, Agnes Suttor<sup>14</sup> and children, Mrs. Hayes, Aunt Sarah, etc. How young married people and their concerns interest me! We had a charming ride on Monday from Baltimore to Washington in an extra with F. Voss and Mary Voss. We were to stop at Genr<sup>l</sup>. Hunter's but finding the measles there we put up at the tavern and came down next day.

Sunday June 7th. Sunday dinner in Falmouth at Uncle B.'s and walked home in the evening with Emily for the exercise. Mary and Dct<sup>s</sup>,<sup>15</sup> T. Knox, Susan and my Mother were there. The next day we took dinner with Mary. Patsy<sup>16</sup> and Eliza were there and Sam. Wellington came [in] time for dinner . . . spent at home. . . . improved since I was last here and looks very pretty. The inhabitants seem more and more villiage like every time I see them, but yet their ways and manner have a charm for me. We had an excellent sermon from Mr. McGuire,—so simple and yet so full of thought rich with the flowers of a chaste yet glowing imagination. It was worthy of the Vicar of Wakefield. How true Goldsmith's villiage preacher is to life? My father has been quite

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<sup>10</sup> Agnes Campbell Gordon, a younger sister of J. M. G., later married Hughes Armistead, of Baltimore.

<sup>11</sup> Mary Nicholas Gordon, an elder sister of J. M. G., married to Dr. John H. Wallace, of Fredericksburg.

<sup>12</sup> The five brothers of J. M. G.

<sup>13</sup> Bazil Gordon, youngest brother of Samuel Gordon, J. M. G.'s father, whose house still stands in the tiny settlement of Falmouth on the northern bank of the Rappahannock across from Fredericksburg.

<sup>14</sup> The name Soutter is mis-spelled in various ways throughout the Diary.

<sup>15</sup> Dr. and Mrs. John H. Wallace.

<sup>16</sup> Patsy Fitzhugh, wife of J. M. G.'s brother Samuel, daughter of Battaile Fitzhugh, of "Santee."

sick with his leg for several days and has suffered very intense pain. How much he has endured in the last ten years!

Friday June 12<sup>th</sup>. A blank since Sunday. I have been passing the week as usual, reading, lounging, playing with the children and enjoying the delightful shades of Kenmore. Yesterday I went to Santee with W<sup>m</sup>., Wt. and Alx<sup>r</sup>. and was as usual reced. in the most cordial manner, and wellcomed back in the most affectionate terms by that kind delightful family. Mrs. Fitzhugh I admire and love the more I see of her. Next to my mother she is my favourite model of a Va: matron. Mr. Fitzhugh I am equally partial to. He has one of the biggest hearts in Va. The children too came in for their share of my affections. It gave me great joy to see Lucy's <sup>17</sup> children so thriving and sprightly and herself looking so well, as interesting, as touchingly beautiful in her exquisite modesty and feminine delicacy as ever. How happy thy would have been had their little boy lived. Country life in Va. is doubly charming to me this visit, and yet like every other of God's best gifts to man those who are [in the possess]ion of it do not seem to feel one half [the pleasure it affords] . . . agricolae si sua norint <sup>18</sup> . . . in time to att. Mrs. Woomley's party given to Emily in lieu of the one she promised her when last here as a bride. It wore heavily away not without several hard showers, which made the walking bad,—however we got comfortably home through the politeness of Mr. Tenant, who let us have the use of his carriage. I read Emily's journal to day, as far as she has it written up. I am much pleased with it. She writes with great interest and besides producing a most valuable record of her own feelings, thoughts and opinions, will find the exercise of the most improving kind. I had a conversation today with Wm. about his plans of life, etc. I think he feels fully the necessity of doing something for the advancement of his children. I suggested to him the importance of keeping his eye on the presidency of one of the Banks and was happy to find that the idea was not new to him.

Friday June 27<sup>th</sup>. I have neglected my journal sadly for the space of two weeks. We came down to Santee last Saturday where we have been staying till now. The week before I spent in Fredg. much as usual. We had intended coming down with Wm. and Eliza about the 12<sup>th</sup>, but were prevented by the mumps being at Santee. In the early part of last week we took several rides in the neighbourhood returning visits. Messrs. Hamilton, Coalter, Bernard and Uncle B.'s. Wm. went home on Saturday and we had a general breaking up at Kenmore on that day. Alx<sup>r</sup>. came down with Susan and my mother on Monday to take leave of us before going to N. Haven, Ct., where he intends remaining about two years to complete his law studies. On Tuesday Wt., Sam and I rode on horse-

<sup>17</sup> Lucy Penn Taylor, wife of J. M. G.'s brother, Basil, of Prospect Hill, Caroline Co., Va., and the daughter of John Taylor of Caroline.

<sup>18</sup> A garbled quotation from Virgil's Georgics, II, 458-459: "O fortunatos nimium sua bona norint, agricolas!"

back down . . . to visit Albion on the Potomack . . . which is to be sold on the 2nd. We . . . [the] boat and I had the pleasure for the first time of riding through those two fine estates of Corbin on both sides of the river. We left here at 8 and arrived at Bedford after a hot, and dusty ride, about two o'clock, passing on our way that venerable relic of ante revolutionary times Lambs creek church, 4 or 5 miles from the river, and Chotank Church near Bedford, both in good repair and larger than Potomack church. Chotank Church was the church of my maternal ancestor Dr. Steuart,<sup>19</sup> grandfather of Rich. Steuart, Jr., who married Miss Calvert. A part of it was fitted up some time since for the accommodation of the minister Dr. Goldsmith and is now occupied by a run a way couple for the want of a better house. The lady is a daughter of Bushrod Washington of the valley, the gentleman a Mr. Alxeander.<sup>20</sup> We found only Mrs. Fitzhugh at Bedford, her husband being below in Westmoreland and her mother and Brother in law in Culpeper.<sup>21</sup> We were very politely received, and wellcomed with a nice little dinner. The house stands  $\frac{1}{2}$  a mile from the Potomack, of which it has a commanding view for many miles above. The Old Building (a very large one) was pulled down by the last proprietor (Mr. Henry Fitzhugh) and the present, a much smaller one erected in its stead. It is of wood, and in the old fashioned style of a center building and two wings. What afforded me the greatest gratification was the old family pictures, seven in number, 5 males and two females,  $\frac{3}{4}$  as large as life, some  $\frac{1}{2}$ , painted by Hesselius of Annapolis. The first is a copy by him some hundred years ago of a portrait of the father of the first settler (who was never in this country) taken in the year 1635 or thereabouts. He is eighteen years of age with his own hair and dressed very plainly in the style of that age. If his hair were short, the costume would be puritan. His face is intelligent and he has the appearance of a well born gentleman, small in size. His son <sup>22</sup> . . . best face of the . . . That is, his face may be taken as a family likeness. He is dressed in a large black curly wig, a rich silk neck cloth tied in a loose knot, and some rich material in the costume of his time. He is quite a large man, a high, broad and projecting forehead, a considerable breadth between the eyes, and a mouth indicative of a good deal of decision and energy of character. He has the complexion and crook in the end of the nose common to all the Bedford family. The next in order is his second son Henry, my ancestor and the ancestor of the Bedford family.<sup>23</sup> He is

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<sup>19</sup> Dr. Charles Steuart, of Annapolis, married Elizabeth, second daughter of Benedict Calvert, of Mount Airy, on June 15, 1780.

Dr. Richard Steuart lived on Saratoga St. near St. Paul's Church, according to Machett's *Baltimore Director for 1835*.

<sup>20</sup> Bushrod Washington (1762-1829), nephew of General Washington, had no children, thus J. M. G. must refer to another man of the same name.

<sup>21</sup> "Bedford," the ancestral seat of the Fitzhugh family, is located on the Potomac River, near Chotank Creek, in Stafford Co., Va.

<sup>22</sup> Col. Wm. Fitzhugh (1651-1701), who came from England to Virginia about 1670.

<sup>23</sup> Col. Henry Fitzhugh (1687-1758).



painted as if old and blind, with an exuberant grey wig tied up in front at the end of some plaited locks like curls. He is middle sized and feeble, and is the original of or very near the original of a picture that used to hang at Bell Air.<sup>24</sup> The other males are Mr. Battaile Fitzhugh's father, Mr. Henry Fitzhugh,<sup>25</sup> and another one, perhaps his brother or nephew. Of the two females one is Miss Stith of Gloucester (then Mrs. F.) aged 18 and a most voluptuous looking woman, fine round figure, a lovely bosom partly covered by a rich brocade heightening the charms which it half conceals.<sup>26</sup> She has black hair and eyes and a dark skin, which it is said she gets from her Pochahontas blood. I am not related to her. She is dressed in a rich brocade with silk lace. The other female is Mr. Battaile F.'s mother. She is not very striking, has the colouring of Harriot Fitzhugh (Bolling Fitzhugh's daughter) and was a Miss Battaile. I was very much gratified to tread at last a spot consecrated in my earliest recollections as the seat of my maternal ancestors for several generations. Fitzhughsburg is near and stands between Bedford and the river. It is in a state, apparently, of dilapidation. Jack Dade [the] Gentlemen we we[nt] . . . rode up before me . . . to his own . . . Bedford house on the way (not one vestage of which remains but a few old fruit trees) and took us to the grave yard. We reached his farm, 3 miles off, in time to take a full survey of it and spent the night with him. We found on our arrival at house Dr. Fitzhugh,<sup>27</sup> Needham Washington and his J. D.'s son in law Smith who lives with him. The House stands magnificently on the Bank of the Potomack, at that point very high, and being at the edge of a peninsula affords a grand view of that noble river for many miles both above and below. The Building is old and badly planned but is commodious and might be made very comfortable. I hope Wt. will buy it, if he can get it at a fair price. It is healthy, small, can be always disposed of at a small sacrifice, if any, and would be a *very agreeable place to me to visit* in the spring or fall. The river affords an abundant supply of the finest fish of which we had evidence in the article of delicious crabs which Mr. Dade supplied us with at supper. We had determined, on going to bed, to ride the next morning and breakfast with my old friend Rich<sup>d</sup>. Steuart of Cedar Grove, both for the purpose of paying him a passing visit and getting a meal for our horses, which we shrewdly suspected had fared worse than their riders. At Bedford as well as Albion, Dr. Fitzhugh, however, insisted on our going home with him and promised to give the poor jaded animals a field which alone was inducement enough to accept. We left his house at 8 and arrived at Santee at 2. W. and Sam were too much worsted to go down

<sup>24</sup> "Belle Air," Stafford Co.

<sup>25</sup> Henry Fitzhugh (1723-1783), who married Sarah Battaile, Oct. 23, 1746. Their son Battaile Fitzhugh married a daughter of Samuel Gordon, of Kenmore.

<sup>26</sup> Elizabeth (1754-1815), daughter of Col. Drury Stith, who married Henry Fitzhugh (1748-1815).

<sup>27</sup> Probably Dr. Francis C. Fitzhugh (1801-1858).

to dinner to Basil's. I went however and met Mr. and Mrs. Taylor who asked us to dine with them the next day which we did. Friday we had intended to spend with Basil, but Emily awaked with a severe headache and . . . Saturday. . . .

Sunday Wm. came down. He returned to day (Tuesday).

Yesterday Monday June 29 we had Chapman christened by Mr. McGuire. Sam, Basil, Wm., Lucy, Patsy, Dr. W. and Mary and John Gordon<sup>28</sup> were present and dined with us. We had a most charming day. We dine at Dr. W.'s to day and shall go up to Wm.'s tomorrow if we can make our arrangements. I return in the hack the next day and proceed on to Balt. to be present at the Union B. election. I shipped this morning by steam boat the Brass Bedstead which my father bought of Mr. McCrae and made us a present of.

Baltimore Sunday July 6<sup>th</sup>. 1835. At home again a bachelor, my beard off, cleanly attired and writing up my journal. Thursday I took Emily and Chap. up to my Brother Wm.'s in Jones' hack. We had a very pleasant ride and a charming lunch at that beautifull grove near the stone church some 14 miles above Falmouth. We found Wm.'s place looking most sweetly. It is now one of the nicest country residences I know. Mrs. Selden and Anna Knox were staying with them. I left the next morning about 8 for Fredg. My ride was dull and fatiguing, for "I dragged a lengthning chain." When I got to Falmouth I found one half of it in ashes, from the Tavern near the Big Tree to Uncle B.'s bandbox counting room and warehouses of tinder. With his usual good fortune he had escaped with a trifling loss. I was very highly diverted with the important concern of the villiagers at the event, but at the same time heartily sorry for the shock it must give their associations to see one half their village burnt down. I got home to dinner, breakfasted . . . in the stage . . . passengers of the usual character. I sat on the seat with a Yankee clock pedlar and had some amusing talk with him about his peregrinations. He had laid out all his year's profit in a poor tract of land in the gold region near Hartford (*sic*) meeting house, part of Morson's farm, and expects to make a fortune. We got to the landing an hour before the boat arrived and I availed my self of the time to try how the fishes bit. A fisherman who was near shore took me out in his canoe. I had tolerable luck but was more taken up with the boatman than my line. He was one of your quiet, mild, pensive characters who chew the cud of contentment and love to be alone with nature out of the reach of the discord of the human voice I have always been devoted to the sport and have spent many a happy day with my college friends in our beautifull boat, on that lovely lake near N. Haven, which "lies

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<sup>28</sup> Son of Samuel Gordon of Lochdougan in Kirkcudbrightshire, and first cousin of J. M. G., who came to Virginia a second time, having sold Lochdougan of which he was the last "Laird."

sheltered in the lap of living hills." It was there I first read Walton and Cotton and alternately watched my line.<sup>29</sup> Your gentleman fisherman is a man after my own heart. Christ selected his disciples from this class and made them fishers of men. About 10 we got into the Boat. I found my old acquaintance Jennet Thurston on board, who had come down the river to spend the Fourth of July. Taliaferro and wife from King George were likewise on board, also Dr. Parish from Pha. whom I did not know personally. He had been down to Richmond as a witness to John Randolph's nuncupative will. The day was agreeable and a good air stirring. We passed Mount Vernon while at dinner. I regretted it. I always look on that spot with feelings akin to those Mount Calvary . . . in my. . . . For [at that] spot died the f[irst] . . . a man. "Jesus Christ like a God."

We reached the city about 3 o'clock and were off again in the stage by half past 6. 6 passengers inside, a North Carolina Colonel, two young travellers from Pha: and a married Lady. As we passed the Capitol I caught a glimpse of the statues of peace and war. Our ride for the first three hours was hot and insufferably dusty, from six to nine it was more pleasant. We got rid of the dust and heat and had some agreeable talk. Occasionally we were regaled with the perfume of the magnolia, of which there are great quantities on some parts of the road, and the air as it came freshening through the groves, was balmy and refreshing. What would I give to have near me always the luxury of a fine grove of various trees such as our forests everywhere afford. We found the buildings at Waterloo burnt down and the road strewn with the prostrate or staggering bodies of drunken Irishmen. I got home at 10 and found Serena on the steps looking out for me. The house was in the most satisfactory order, most exquisitely clean and nice. Nothing but Emily and Chap. was wanting to make me exclaim "there is no place like home." But, alas, the words stuck in my throat. I read until 12 and even then could not go to sleep for some time. I had bad dreams and was awoke about 2 by an alarm of fire. Rose at 8, breakfasted and walked down to Barnum's [City Hotel]. Met my old college friend Tom Spence.<sup>30</sup> Was delighted to see him. He told had never had any idea of turning priest. I was very much shocked this morning to hear that Judge Magruder's son had been killed accidentally by. . . . Affliction has laid a heavy hand upon him.<sup>31</sup> C[hief]. J[ustice]. [John] Marshall, I hear this morning is no better. His disease is considered incurable. Having written my journal up I will now go out to see some acquaintances before going to church. I left my umbrella in the stage last night. I never did such a careless thing before. I called on Kemp before church and took a seat with him. Mrs.

<sup>29</sup> Izaak Walton and the less well known Charles Cotton (1630-1687), English poet and translator of Montaigne, among whose works is the *Compleat Gamester* (1674).

<sup>30</sup> Thomas Adams Spence, A. B., Yale, 1829, of Snow Hill.

<sup>31</sup> Thomas William Magruder (1814-1835), son of Judge R. B. Magruder; *American*, July 7, p. 2, cols. 1 and 5.

K. has another daughter. I told him by way of consolation that "it would become the mother of a race of men." He told me the particulars of young Magruder's accident. Meredith<sup>32</sup> and himself, it seems were on a revenue cutter lying in the port. Me[redith] took up a musket and observed pointing it to him that it would make a good disk or something of the kind and at the same time, involuntarily pulled the trigger, the contents passing through his head. The accident happened last night about 6. He is to be buried to day. I dine with B. F. V[oss]. at 2.

Monday morning July 6th. Rose at 5½ o'clock, shaved myself and went to market. At 8 went to Bank. The day is hot and close. While I think of it, remember to answer Kemp's letter. I find Lee settled here in one of Campbell's offices. Our Bank election comes on today. I occupied myself one hour this morning fixing my Books.

The Union Bank election came on to day. I was re-elected. R. Voss dined with me to day. He is perfectly happy at the prospect of starting for Va. tomorrow on a visit to his wife. How little he knows of men and especially of women! I have met with few young men that do. I commenced reading Audubon's<sup>33</sup> ornithology to day. It is charming, so pictorial, so enthusiastick, so deeply imbued with a warm and deep rooted love of nature. How I should have enjoyed a ramble with him for a year or two. I have been reading likewise selected articles in Littell's Museum.<sup>34</sup> The last is the best . . . particularly [the part] on Shakespeare in Germany, being a criticism on Romeo and Juliet, "that magnificent hymn to love," in which it may be said to be set to music. My astonishment at his genius will never cease increasing. I was not able to read much Law this morning, having been bored for several hours by that ----- dull fellow Morris of Pha. Steel joined me in my afternoon walk. He is intelligent but not congenial. It is the rarest thing in the world for me to meet any one that is. All men seem to me unnatural or unrefined. My dear little wife, God Bless her, is perfectly congenial. My health is much improved by my trip to Va., and as I have given up a meal in the evening for the present, it will continue to do so no doubt. I had a large supply of currant jelly made to day which I forgot to mention in my letter to Emily to day. It will be an agreeable surprise to her when she comes home.

Tuesday July 7th. Rose at 6 o'clock. At 8 attended at Bank with the new Board. I went to the instrument maker's this morning and looked at his telescopes wishing to buy one for my Brother Basil. Attended

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<sup>32</sup> William Meredith.

<sup>33</sup> John M. Gordon is not listed as a subscriber, but Basil Gordon and Robert S. Voss are; Robinson C. Watters, "Audubon and His Baltimore Patrons," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXIV (June, 1939), 139-143.

<sup>34</sup> *Littell's Museum of Foreign Literature* for July, 1835, carried a full length likeness of Wm. Godwin, the author of "Caleb Williams and St. Leon"; *American*, July 7, p. 2, col. 1.



court for an hour and read Cruise on the subject of Fines.<sup>34a</sup> Because sleepy over it and wrote a few lines in Journal. I slept badly last night, having imprudently drank a glass or two of claret sangaree at the Bank. The weather is still hot, 84 in chamber. Apropos I must make a book to keep observations of the weather.

Chief Justice Marshall is no more! How are the mighty fallen.

"Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus  
 Tam cari Capitis . . . Cui pudor, et Justicia soror  
 Incorrupta Fides, nudaque veritas  
 Quando ullum inveniet parem?"<sup>35</sup>

Shall the ermine of purity descend upon corruption? Protect the fountains of Justice from pollution.

The day has been most hot and depressing. I slept away most of the afternoon unintentionally. About 7 took a walk and joined Steel. Retired at 11 o'clock.

Wednesday July 8<sup>th</sup>. Last night was most uncomfortable for sleep. Rose at 6, shaved and went to market. Sat an hour in court comparing, with several gentlemen, the characters of Washington and Marshall. All gave the preference to the former. He certainly stands alone and at the head of a new era in the world. Whilst his name will shine brighter throughout the world as it descends to posterity, that of Marshall will emit its lustre only for the eye of the American Lawyer. But it is "clarum et venerabile nomen."

I find the weather unfits me for mental effort and indeed I begin to be afraid that I shall never be able to study again as I did at college when my constitution was in the full and vigorous energies of jusvenescence. When I read of the labours of such a student as the German philologist Wolff, my heart sinks in despair.<sup>36</sup> Pitt held the helm of the British empire in its stormiest period at the age of 24, and I am hardly yet a petty fogging lawyer. Would that the world were fuller of action. But I bide my time. The day will yet arrive when I shall give full sway to voice, action and passion.

I am becoming anxious to hear from Emily and already sick to be with her in the country again.

Thursday July 9<sup>th</sup>. Rose at 6 and went to market to get some nice thing for Lloyd<sup>37</sup> and Norris who are to dine with me to day. We shall have chicken broth, leg lamb and veal coutlette. Rece<sup>d</sup>. a sweet

<sup>34a</sup> Probably Wm. Cruise, *An Essay on the Nature and Operation of Fines* (London, 1783).

<sup>35</sup> Two juxtaposed quotations from Horace, Odes, I, 24.

<sup>36</sup> Friedrich August Wolf (1759-1824).

<sup>37</sup> Grafton Lloyd Dulany (1797-1863), prominent lawyer who often represented the Union Bank.

letter from Emily, which, as usual, I read over two or three times. Poor thing, she is so home sick! Bought  $\frac{1}{2}$  doz. Westphalia Hams. Attended meeting of . . . 10 to pass resolutions on death of C. J. Marshall. Hoffman was the mover and prefaced them with some very pertinent remarks.<sup>38</sup> Have been reading Cruise on Fines this morning, but find him very dull this hot weather. I must get some of the new novels. I read Julius Caesar last evening. With what fidelity Shakespeare has preserved in that play the "Spirit of Antiquity." How beautifully drawn are the female characters of Portia and Calphurnia, the wives of Caesar and Brutus, although they are unfemine in all the heroic qualities of Roman matrons. Brutus is the Hero and the only noble republican amongst the conspirators. I am very much struck with the character of Cicero as it is drawn in two lines—"and Cicero looks with such ferret and such fiery eyes as we have seen him in the Capitol being crossed in conference by some senators." And again when Casca is asked what Cicero did when the crown was thrice offered Caesar, he replies, "he spoke Greek." Brutus says of him, "he will never follow any thing that other men begin." The play ought to have ended with the assassination. I remark throughout this play the wonderfull finish of the numerous Characters all true to the Roman spirit.

I have begun Caleb Williams to day and am delighted with the style of Godwin, this being the first of his works I have ever read.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> David Hoffman (1784-1854), at this time professor of law, University of Maryland, and leader of the Baltimore Bar.

<sup>39</sup> See note 34.

# THE GREAT MARYLAND BARRENS: II

By WILLIAM B. MARYE

(Continued from Vol. 50, No. 1, March, 1955, p. 23)

THE present installment discusses the origin of the Barrens after defining their limits at some length. In the interests of accuracy and completeness of a subject that in all probability will not be dealt with again, these details are included. A final installment of larger general interest will appear in September.—*Ed.*

## THE LIMITS OF THE BARRENS: THEIR MARCH FROM EAST TO WEST <sup>40</sup>

According to eminent Pennsylvania authorities, the Barrens extended along the west bank of Susquehanna River, in York County, from the mouth of Fishing Creek, opposite Turkey Hill, or thereabouts, to the Mason and Dixon Line, a distance of nearly 21 miles, and backwards into the interior of the country, to include the valleys of Fishing Creek and Muddy Creek.<sup>41</sup> The whole of the townships of Chanceford, Lower Chanceford, Peach Bottom,<sup>42</sup> the southern part of Windsor, and all of Fawn and Hopewell Townships were included in the Barrens. But the Barrens did not extend much, if at all, to the westwards of the head stream of Deer Creek,<sup>43</sup> which forms the boundary between Hopewell and Shrewsbury Townships.

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<sup>40</sup> In certain cases where definite limits are mentioned elucidation of the record was not possible even after considerable research. Here is a case taken from the minutes of the Baltimore Co. Court Proceedings, Aug. Term, 1768: "John Riston is appointed overseer of the roads from his house to the main falls [of Patapsco] at Nathan's mill [not identified] & also to the entrance to the Barrence [sic]."

<sup>41</sup> I. D. Rupp, *History of Lancaster and York Counties* (1845), pp. 566, 567; John Gibson, *History of York County* (1886), pp. 17, 18; Glossbrenner's *History of York County* (1834), quoted by Gibson.

<sup>42</sup> Gibson, *loc. cit.*, quotes Glossbrenner: "The townships comprised in the Barrens are Chanceford, Fawn, Peach Bottom, Hopewell and part of Windsor." Rupp, *loc. cit.*, says that the York Barrens comprised the townships of Chanceford, Lower Chanceford, Fawn, Hopewell and the lower part of Windsor. He does not mention Peach Bottom, erected 1817 out of Fawn Township. Gibson (p. 761) advances the theory that the so-called barrens of Peach Bottom Township were actually the old fields of the early settlers, an idea wholly at variance with the facts, since there is no reason to suppose that the barrens in this township were of a different origin.

<sup>43</sup> Deer Creek crosses the state line into Baltimore Co. a little over two miles west of the Harford Co. line, and enters Harford Co. a little more than  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles below the state line.

The Pennsylvania or York Barrens contained about 130,000 acres. According to Rupp, this enormous extent of land was not called (ca. 1737-1735) "the barrens" simply on account of the poverty of the soil, but because its early settlers found "no timber" upon it.<sup>44</sup> In this important respect Rupp agrees with the statements of Lloyd and Carroll, of which he (most probably) had no knowledge.

The Barrens crossed the Line<sup>45</sup> into Maryland on a front 20 miles wide, or not much less, if Pennsylvania authorities are correct. South of the line, they seem to have followed the Susquehanna River<sup>46</sup> to the mouth of Broad Creek, 1½ miles below the Line, near which place they began to veer away from the river, first to the southwards, and then to the southwest, reaching Deer Creek near Sandy Hook, some nine miles above the mouth of that stream. The Deer Creek valley below this point, and the valley of Peddler's Run, lay outside the Barrens. The valley of Broad Creek lay wholly within them. For these limits, as we shall presently see, there is sound authority, which is fortunate, since the Barrens are seldom mentioned as obiter dicta in contemporary wills, or called for in early certificates of survey.<sup>47</sup> In the absence of this sort of evidence a place-name may testify to the presence of barrens in the neighborhood, while the name bestowed upon an early survey may sometimes be eloquent of the barren and desolate aspect of that part of a county where it was laid out. Names such as The Hungry Hills (Broad Creek) and The Hills of Poverty (Falling Branch, Deer Creek)<sup>48</sup> are highly descriptive, and evoke the appearance and even the mood of the barren lands.

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<sup>44</sup> Rupp, *op. cit.*, pp. 566, 567.

<sup>45</sup> The Mason and Dixon Line is a little less than one quarter mile north of the temporary line, run in 1739.

<sup>46</sup> It is this author's opinion that the rich, but generally narrow, bottoms along western side of the river, through which the Susquehanna Canal was cut, were heavily timbered, in contrast to the adjacent barrens.

<sup>47</sup> Skipwith Coale of Baltimore Co. in will dated Aug. 1, 1755, left to his son, Samuel, "my tract of land lying in the Barrons, being what I purchased of Pilgrim and Simpson." (Hall of Records, Will Book, XXXIX, f. 513.) The index of the Baltimore Co. Land Records shows no land sold by Simpson to Coale; however, Amos Pilgrim made over "Pilgrim's Rest" to Skipwith Coale, in 1743. (Baltimore Co. Land Records, Liber T. B. No. C., f. 423). See also Land Office, Unpatented Certificate No. 1254, Baltimore Co. This tract was located apparently on Cooper's Rock Run which flows into the Susquehanna just above the Pennsylvania border.

In his will, September 4, 1750, Wm. Jenkins, of Baltimore Co., left 100 acres "in the Barrons joining Richard Deavers" to his son, Francis Jenkins. (Hall of Records, Will Book XXXI, f. 316). This land not identified. It is not unlikely that it lay on Little Deer Creek, but it may have been on Broad Creek. That it is now situated in Harford Co. is scarcely open to doubt.

<sup>48</sup> A tract of leased land surveyed for John Crommey, July 29, 1749, was situated in Baltimore Co. on the north side of Broad Creek, "beginning at a bounded black oak standing on the Hungry Hills." (Land Office of Maryland, Unpatented Certificate No. 378, Baltimore Co.).

"The Hills of Poverty," containing 2380 acres, was laid out for Abraham Jarrett, February 15, 1771. ("Survey Book of Baltimore Co. in the Province of Maryland, 1771," f. 12, Peabody Library, Baltimore, attributed to James Calder.) This very



On June 15, 1721, there was surveyed for Dr. Charles Carroll, of Annapolis, a tract of land called "Arabia Petrea," containing 4735 acres.<sup>49</sup> More than one half of this survey was vacant land; the rest consisted of all of two patented tracts that was not taken away by elder surveys. In his petition to the Land Office for a special warrant to resurvey these patented tracts of land Dr. Carroll, after recalling their situation, namely, upon the north side of Deer Creek near Susquehanna River, requests "liberty to exclude the land so taken away and to add what vacant lands should be found to them contiguous and *lying between Deer Creek and Susquehanna River aforesaid and the Barrens.*"<sup>50</sup> This record serves to indicate the great extent of the Barrens in those parts.

Dr. Carroll sold "Arabia Petrea," in 1733, to Isaac Webster and Jacob Giles,<sup>51</sup> for whom it was resurveyed, February 20, 1734.<sup>52</sup> The original name was retained. The resurvey contained 5340 acres. Harford County antiquaries and historians all know of "Arabia Petrea." The north-eastern bounds of "Arabia Petrea" come within 1- $\frac{1}{4}$  miles of the Susquehanna River. The southeastern bounds of this land follow Deer Creek for some little distance. It is said that "Arabia Petrea" begins at the fork of the road leading from Darlington to Berkeley. The uppermost limit of the original survey on Deer Creek is at a distance of about 8 miles from the mouth of that stream. The resurvey carries it no more than 40 perches upstream, to a point about a mile and a half above the mouth of Thomas's Run.

The N. W. by W. 228 perches line of the original survey of "Arabia Petrea" calls for an intersection "*with the Barrens,*" whence the survey runs S. 139 degrees W. 160 perches (half a mile) "*joining with the barrens.*" When the resurvey was made, it was discovered that the N. W.

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considerable tract of land was never patented, and no survey has been found recorded at the Land Office. However, Mr. Waring found a description of the survey in Chancery Papers No. 5586, from which he has kindly made me a plat. The survey calls for Indian Wills Cabin Branch, an affluent of a branch of Deer Creek which is not named, but which the late Dr. George Archer, the conscientious antiquary of Harford County, has identified with Falling Branch. (Archer Papers, Harford County Historical Society.) "Hills of Poverty" lay in what is now the Fourth District of Harford Co., but was formerly Deer Creek Upper Hundred, on both sides of Falling Branch and of Great Branch, but mostly between them, having a length from east to west of  $3\frac{3}{4}$  miles, and an extreme width of about  $1\frac{3}{4}$  miles. It is my opinion that its upper limits are no more than  $\frac{1}{8}$  mile below the state line, with which they run nearly parallel. The situation is of interest as the name seems intended to describe the primitive aspect of the land included in the survey, and its environs.

<sup>49</sup> Patented Certificate No. 374, Baltimore Co.

<sup>50</sup> Land Office, Patent Records for Land, Liber P. L. No. 5, f. 318.

<sup>51</sup> Letter, Waring to Marye, Jan. 22, 1952.

<sup>52</sup> Patented Certificate No. 376, Baltimore Co. While Webster and Giles, who were interested in iron works, may have considered mining operations in purchasing "Arabia Petrea," they eventually sold off the land in lots to people mostly of the yeoman class. A copy of an old plat of "Arabia Petrea" divided into "lots" or farms is in the possession of this author.

by W. line fell short of the Barrens by 50 perches, and, by request, the surveyor added this amount thereto, "*in order to include the good land*," and ended his line "in the Barrens." Here there seems to be evidence of a more or less sharp division between good land and barren land. The next line of the resurvey partly "joins" the Barrens, after which the Barrens fall away to the southwest.

The place where "Arabia Petrea" intersects the Barrens lies about a mile and a half southwest of Susquehanna River, a mile and a quarter west of Castleton, and about 2 miles northeast of Dublin, on the ridge between Peddler's Run and Broad Creek. From this place, or thereabouts, the edge of the Barrens ran in a southwesterly direction to Deer Creek, leaving out, to the southeast, the whole of "Arabia Petrea." Dublin lies outside, but very near, the edge of the Barrens.

Some notice must here be taken of Lloyd's mention in his 1722 letter of frontier settlements on the western side of the Susquehanna River. Evidently, these settlements lay between the Barrens and the river. Where were they?

Virtually all the land bordering upon the west side of the Susquehanna, between the mouth of Deer Creek, and Glen Cove, at the mouth of Peddler Run, was taken up before the end of the 17th century, mostly in large tracts, and already by 1722 settlements had undoubtedly been made thereon.<sup>53</sup> The northern-most of these tracts of land was "Phillips Purchase." North of "Phillips Purchase," and bounding thereon was "Paradise," surveyed, 1683, for Thomas Lytefoot. "Paradise" does not bound upon the river. Between it and the river lies "Maiden's Mount," surveyed in 1719 and resurveyed in 1721 for Robert West, containing 400 acres. This land lies between the mouths of Broad Creek and Peddler's Run, coming within half a mile of the former and 1-1/4 miles of the latter, and extending inland half a mile. The reason for going into these details will be seen presently. West unquestionably settled on this land before 1722. His place was called the Bald Friar, and it was here, let it be said in passing, that the lowest ford on the Susquehanna was situated.<sup>54</sup>

We find evidence of only one settlement above "Maiden's Mount" at the time Lloyd's letter was written. This was John Cooper's. He acquired a small tract surveyed for Elijah Perkins in 1719, to which he added

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<sup>53</sup> The northeastern boundary of "Phillips' Purchase (2000 acres, surveyed for James Phillips, 1683) is situated at Glen Cove. (Samuel Mason, *Historic Sketches of Harford County*, p. 47.) In 1763, a land commission was held on behalf of Nathaniel Rigbie, to prove the bounds of "Phillips Purchase." One of the deponents then present proved a bounded tree on a point on Rock Run, otherwise called Rigbie's Saw Mill Run, and now called Peddler's Run. (Baltimore Co. Land Records, Liber B, no. M., f. 151 &c.) Only the bounded tree at the northeastern corner of "Phillips Purchase" could have stood at Glen Cove, on Peddler's Run. This information was used as a point of departure in working out the situation of "Maiden's Mount," "Paradise," and the northern bounds of "Arabia Petrea."

<sup>54</sup> Marye, "Place-Names of Baltimore and Harford Counties," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XV (1920), p. 327ff.

"Cooper's Range," surveyed May 10, 1720, and "Deserts of Arabia," surveyed July 20, 1721, in all, 620 acres, in one tract, bounded by the river, and situated astraddle of the present state line, on both sides of Cooper's Rock Run.<sup>55</sup>

These, then, were the frontier plantations on the Susquehanna—Cooper's, West's, and whatever settlement may have been made on "Paradise"—which, together with the rest of the "Present Inhabited parts" (to quote again from Lloyd's letter), were "cut off" by the Barrens from the temptingly rich lands situated to the North and to the West; "th<sup>t</sup> Vast Body of Rich Lands th<sup>t</sup> Lyes something more to the Westward."

Lloyd mentions the measures then being taken "about Lycencing our People to make remote Settlements," and adds: "... this eastermost side of Monockesey, is the first place th<sup>t</sup> will Naturally be planted [it was then still a wilderness, but on the eve of being settled] and thence up along the Line of 50, if we can but secure our people there, & that by the help of an Instrum<sup>t</sup> we Can find where or near About th<sup>t</sup> Line Lyeth."

Such was the background against which Lord Baltimore's vast "reserves" on Susquehanna River were laid out. On September 25, 1722, Lloyd, then Deputy Secretary of Maryland, acting in accordance with instructions "lately received" from Lord Baltimore, issued an order to the Surveyor General of the Western Shore,<sup>56</sup> requiring him to notify his deputies concerning the setting up of a number of "reserves," including two on the eastern side and three on the western side of the Susquehanna, up to the 40th degree, north latitude,<sup>57</sup> which was claimed by the Calverts as the lawful northern boundary of their Province. It is hard not to see in the setting up of these 5 "reserves" a move on the part of Lord Baltimore in the direction of consolidating the then unsettled parts of his province, so that he might the better maintain his rights. The Penns were even then engaged in taking up vast manors on the Susquehanna the southern-most of which impinged upon, and came into direct conflict with, these "reserves."<sup>58</sup> When the Temporary Line was run, in 1739,

<sup>55</sup> Rent-Roll of Baltimore Co., Calvert Papers No. 883, pp. 266, 280, 283. In will of John Cooper, dated Oct. 1, 1759, all these lands are mentioned and their situation given. (Baltimore Co. Wills, Liber 2, f. 296.) On Griffith's Map of Maryland, 1794, a saw-mill called "Cooper's" is shown adjacent to the west side of Susquehanna River in York Co., a little north of the state line. An Atlas of York Co., Pomeroy, Whitman & Co., 1876,—Peachbottom Township, p. 58, shows the residence of several Coopers near the river, above and below [Cooper's] Rock Run. Gibson (*op. cit.*, p. 765) gives an account of the family.

<sup>56</sup> Lloyd's order to survey these reserves is recorded upon "an old parchment" filed in Division 4, No. 22, Land Office. (Letter, Waring to Marye, Sept. 8, 1953.) No plats of the reserves are known to exist.

<sup>57</sup> It is the first of these reserves mentioned in this manuscript in which we are interested. Its northern boundary was Muddy Creek (now in York Co.) and a line drawn west from the head of that creek.

<sup>58</sup> As, for example, the great manor of Springetsbury, 70,000 acres, surveyed June 19 and 20, 1722, on the W. side of the Susquehanna, in York Co. A part of this manor was taken away according to an agreement between Penn and Baltimore, to satisfy claims of Maryland settlers, and the manor was resurveyed, July 12, 1768, and found to contain 64,520 acres. Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 921.

the greater part of Lord Baltimore's "reserves" fell to the north of that line, and was found to lie either in Lancaster or York Counties. Lord Baltimore's motives were not entirely political, however. He was thinking of profit. Thirty-four years later Governor Sharpe, writing about the difference between a reserve and a proprietary manor, makes the statement that one of three motives governed the choice of a body of land for the laying out of a reserve: exceptional richness of soil; mineral deposits, especially copper; nearness to towns.<sup>59</sup> There is no doubt that the first of these was the guiding motive in the choice, in 1722, of the Sugar Lands on the Potomac as the site of a reserve of 10,000 acres. But what of the Barrens? It is not unlikely that in 1722 many of the leading men of Maryland entertained great hope of the discovery of mineral deposits and the opening of mines in that region. Among them was probably Lloyd himself.

Of the 3 "reserves" which were set up upon the western side of the Susquehanna Lord Baltimore gave up his right to 2, and retained title to a part of 1 only. The bounds and limits of this reserve, as defined in Lloyd's order to the Surveyor General of the Western Shore, were as follows:

"Beginning at the Mouth of a small Run or Branch called Boddy Run or Golden Branch<sup>60</sup> falling into Deer Creek some distance East Southerly from a Tract of Land laid out for Col<sup>o</sup>. William Holland called Miners Adventure and extending from the mouth of the said Creek [*sic*] S. S. W. ten Miles bounded on the South by a Line drawn W. from the End of the S. S. W. Line for twenty Miles and on the W. by a Line drawn N. from the End of the W. Line until it intersects the Head of Muddy Creek, but in Case Muddy Creek should not extend so far W. then until the N. Line aforesaid shall intersect a Line drawn W. from the Head of Muddy Creek then E. with the said Line and Muddy Creek unto the Mouth thereof where it falls into the Susquehanna then down the Susque-

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<sup>59</sup> This information in a letter of Governor Sharpe addressed to his brother, John Sharpe, M. P., in England, dated May 27, 1756 (*Archives of Md.*, VI, 424): Already by 1754, within the settled parts of the province, there was a dearth of sufficiently large and otherwise desirable bodies of vacant land which might be erected into proprietary manors. This significant fact is brought out in a letter addressed by Sharpe to Cecilius Calvert, uncle of Frederick, 6th Lord Baltimore, in England, dated May 3, 1754: ". . . I was informed that there was not a Tract of Land unless one I have a prospect of in the lower part of the Eastern Shore & the Barrens extensive enough to answer that purpose in any part of the Province, except in Frederick County near the Frontiers . . ." *Archives of Md.*, VI, 57.

<sup>60</sup> The name of Golden Branch occurs again in the certificate of survey of "Fair Cross," laid out for John Cole, in 1741, "on the North side of Deer Creek in ye reserve beginning at a bounded black oak on ye south side of ye Golden Branch" (Unpatented Certificate No. 564, Baltimore Co.). "Golden Hill" is the name of a tract of land taken up by John Thomas in 1774, situated near and to the southwards of "Miner's Adventure." (Patented Cert. No. 176, Harford Co.) This was probably already a current place-name. The presence of iron pyrites in the soil might account for names like these.



hannah River unto the [lands] already surveyed for Robert West and . . . Webster then with those lands and *along the Edge of the Barrens* unto a Tract of land heretofore laid out for the Gardners of Baltimore County supposed to be called Fathers Request<sup>61</sup> then by a straight Line passing along the Westernmost Side of the said Tract unto [the] nearest Part of Deer Creek then up Deer Creek unto the Place of Beginning.”<sup>62</sup>

For our purposes this record, taken together with what has been said above about “Arabia Petrea,” may be interpreted as follows:

The eastern bounds of the Reserve followed the right bank of the Susquehanna from the mouth of Muddy Creek, in York County, to the mouth of Broad Creek in Maryland; thence to the land of Robert West<sup>63</sup> (“Maidens Mount”), above Bald Hill, where, leaving the Susquehanna, the Reserve bounded upon “Maiden’s Mount,” until it intersected the watershed between Broad Creek and Peddler’s Run, half a mile from the river. The line of the Reserve then followed this watershed up to its head, and ran thence, *bounding more or less closely upon the edge of the Barrens*,<sup>64</sup> to a tract of land situated on the northern side of Deer Creek called “The Father’s Request,” passing near to the west of Dublin, and leaving out to the east the whole of “Arabia Petrea” and some vacant land. This is the longest line limiting the Barrens of which we have a record.

It seems fairly certain that the southeastern limits of the Barrens crossed Deer Creek between Sandy Hook and the mouth of the Mine Run, that is to say, not less than 9 nor more than 11 miles, above the mouth of the creek. The whole valley of Deer Creek and its affluents above the mouth of the Mine Branch, in Maryland, seems to have lain within what was called and known as “the Barrens.”

<sup>61</sup> “The Fathers Request,” 537 acres, was laid out for Ignatius and Richard Gardner of Prince George’s Co., April 26, 1721, on the north side of Deer Creek in the fork of Gardiner’s Branch. (Patent Records for Land, Liber I. L. No. A. f. 376.)

<sup>62</sup> The subject of the Reserve is an integral part of the history of the settlement of the Piedmont area of Baltimore Co. I have worked out in my notes what is known concerning its boundaries.

<sup>63</sup> There can be no question as to the identity of the land of Robert West, cited in Lloyd’s instructions September 25, 1722. It is “Maiden’s Mount.” But what of Webster’s land, also called for? It appears to be a question, not of two separate parcels of land, but of one and the same tract. A careful search made by Mr. Waring and myself failed to bring to light any certificate of survey, patented or unpatented, issued to a Webster for land in that neighborhood before the date above mentioned. But there is recorded among the Land Records of Baltimore Co., Liber I. S. No. G, folio 132ff., a 99-year lease of “Maiden’s Mount,” 400 acres, dated May 17, 1722, from Robert West to Messrs. Nicholas Roach, Philip Syng, and Michael Webster, & Co., as tenants in common including “all Mines and Mineral Bodies of what Kinds oever [*sic*] which are or shall be found . . . in Maidens Mount. . . .”

<sup>64</sup> The exact limits of the Barrens on Deer Creek cannot be determined from the data in hand. In laying out “Roses Green,” in the year 1717, the surveyor noted “barrens” to the northward of the site, which lies below “The Father’s Request.” The question is one of local interest only.

It seems equally certain that the Barrens crossed the headwaters of Winters Run.<sup>65</sup> There is some reason to believe that the edge of the Barrens in the Fork of Winters Run was not far above the parting of the East and West branches of that stream. It is stated in a contemporary record that the Barrens were distant 12 miles from the town of Joppa.<sup>66</sup> Nowhere else, in my opinion, could they have come so close to Joppa as in the Fork of Winters Run, near the junction of its two head streams, even if for "twelve miles" we should read "thirteen," or "fourteen." For the area between the West Branch of Winters Run and the Little Falls of Gunpowder River there are in hand no records whereby the limits of the Barrens may accurately be defined; but it has already been shown that a large tract of land, "John's Barrens Enlarged," which lies in Harford County, about the headwaters of the Little Falls and the Old York Road, and extends some 1-3/4 miles southwards from Blackhorse or thereabouts, was, when first taken up, composed of a mixture of bare barrens (one half), bushy ground and sapling land. There is reason to believe that the edge of the Barrens in that part of Harford County did not fall below the southern limits of this survey.<sup>67</sup> It is also reasonable

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<sup>65</sup> It is this author's opinion that Lloyds remark that the Barrens crossed "the Heads of Patapsco, Gunpowder and Bush Rivers" (see above text) is accurate information. It is true for the two main head branches of Patapsco Falls, the North Branch and the South Branch, as well as for the Great Falls of Gunpowder River. Bush River is an estuary, into which flow Winters Run, Bynams Run, and lesser streams. Bynams Run rises at Forest Hill. It is very unlikely that even the uppermost parts of its valley lay within the Barrens. There remains Winters Run. The headwaters of this stream, the East and the West Branches, unite at a point eleven miles distant from the site of Joppa Town, at the mouth of the Little Falls of Gunpowder River. The sources of these head branches lie within a mile of each other, near Madonna. In my opinion the Barrens extended some distance below Jarrettsville in the forks of Winters Run. Only in this way can I account for their approaching to within twelve miles of Joppa Town. (See note 66.)

<sup>66</sup> In *Md. Gazette*, May 9, 1759, a great forest fire in Baltimore Co. is reported; included is this sentence, "*It is supposed the fire began in the Barrens, about twelve miles from Joppa.*"

The point of union of the two head streams of Winters Run is 11 miles from the site of Joppa, in a northwesterly direction. It is the opinion of this author that the trend of the out-bounds of the Barrens was southwest from Deer Creek to the Fork of Winters Run, then northeast to the Little Falls of Gunpowder, east of Shepperd, or thereabouts.

<sup>67</sup> "My Lady's Manor," sometimes called "My Lord Baltimore's Gift," was laid out for Lady Baltimore, August 26, 1713, for 10,000 acres, but was found, by resurvey, to contain 12,000 acres. It was not opened to settlers until 20 years later. A description of its bounds will be found in Baltimore Co. Land Records, Liber I. S. No. L., f. 229: Brerewood to Brerewood, 1731. It seems hardly credible that the surveyor laid out this manor so as to include any considerable quantity of barrens.

A Tax-List of Eden and Bush River Upper Hundreds, 1783, divides the lands entered therein into three classifications: good, middling and sorry. Some 618 acres of the manor are classified as "sorry," 80 acres as "middling" and only 55 acres as "good." To infer that this means the presence of barrens would, I believe, be going too far.

to suppose that the Barrens drifted over the Little Falls of Gunpowder from the East above the crossing of the Old York Road into the north-eastern corner of what is now the Tenth District of Baltimore County, which is formed by the county line and the First Mine Run. This stream, the northern boundary of the Tenth District, rises near Blackhorse and empties into the Great Falls of Gunpowder about  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile below Whitehall.<sup>68</sup> It is unlikely that the Barrens penetrated very far into what was formerly known as the Fork of Gunpowder, which included all of the Eleventh District, and nearly all of the Tenth District, of Baltimore County.<sup>69</sup> Evidence indicates that a certain tract of land, situated in the northwestern corner of the Tenth District, along the edge of the valley of the First Mine Run, lay outside the limits of the Barrens.<sup>70</sup>

The Barrens must have covered close to four-fifths of what is now the Seventh District of Baltimore County, nearly the whole of the Sixth (there may have been a narrow strip free of barrens along the Pennsylvania line), not less than three-fourths of the Fifth, and, perhaps, the northern part of the Fourth District. Within this compact and considerable area are situated many old surveys which are described in newspapers, as well as in land records as lying in the Barrens. These records are important. The lands in question are scattered about here and there, in places where otherwise the presence of the Barrens would be only a matter of inference.<sup>71</sup> Unfortunately, very few surveys call for the edges or limits of the Barrens, and resort must generally be had to inference, when we try to determine these limits.

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<sup>68</sup> The 7th Dist. of Baltimore Co. lies to the north of the First Mine Run, earlier known as Fuller's Mine Run, Mine Branch, or Great Mine Branch. In 1741 it was made the dividing line between two hundreds, the uppermost of which became Upper Gunpowder Hundred. In 1758 its name was changed to Mine Run Hundred. (Balto. Co. Court Proceedings, Liber B. No. T.R.I., f. 151; "Sessions," 1757-1759, f. 171.) As we go north from the first Mine Run, the next considerable affluent of the Great Falls is the Second Mine Run (formerly the Little Mine Run); next the Third Mine Run and the Fourth Mine Run. In old records these streams are mentioned, respectively, under the names of the Woody Hill Branch and the Mirey Branch.

<sup>69</sup> The Fork of Gunpowder (from which the village called Fork takes its name) was all that part of (old) Baltimore Co. which was bounded by the two main "falls" of Gunpowder River, a small stretch of shoreline between the mouths of these two "falls," and a line drawn west from the head of the Little Falls,  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile south of Blackhorse, and now in Harford Co., to meet the Great Falls at or near Whitehall.

<sup>70</sup> On August 20, 1757, Walter Tolley conveyed to William Young a tract of land called "United Friendship," 180 acres, which is described in the deed as situated "in the fork of Gunpowder *near* the Barrens." (Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber B. No. G., 1757-1759, f. 88.) "United Friendship" was laid out, Sept. 22, 1722, for John Fuller, James Isham, John Elliott and Nehemiah Hicks. (Baltimore Co. Rent Roll, Calvert Papers No. 883, f. 298.)

<sup>71</sup> These early, contemporary references to the Barrens are as follows:

(1) A tract of land called "Crosses Park," surveyed by John Cross, March 12, 1742, described as situated "in the Barrens in the fork of Gunpowder Falls at a place called Chesnut Ridge, beginning at two bounded black oaks standing in



In attempting to work out the southern limits of the Barrens from the Fork of Gunpowder across Baltimore County into Carroll County, we are taking pains not to attribute to the Barrens a greater extent than is likely. In my opinion, the line of the Barrens crossed the Great Falls in the neighborhood of Whitehall and the mouth of the First Mine Run, not below the latter. I think it not unlikely that a considerable amount of land, situated in the angle between the Great Falls and the mouth of the Western Run, below Whitehall, lay outside the Barrens, and that the edge of the Barrens passed close to Hereford, most probably, to the westward of that place.<sup>72</sup> The upper part of the valley of the Black Rock Run <sup>73</sup>

the head of a bottom that descends into the north branch of the said falls." (Patent Records for Land, Liber E. I. No. 6, f. 657.)

(2) Ann Bosley, of Baltimore Co., in her will, July 16, 1819, leaves to her daughter, Ann, the land which Thomas Cole bequeathed to the testatrix, "lying and being in Baltimore County, in what is generally called Baltimore Barrens." (Wills, Baltimore Co., Vol. 13, f. 152.) From the will of Thomas Cole, August 27, 1792, we learn that the land in question was composed of two tracts, viz., part of "Quarterman's Choice," and a tract of leased land called "Abraham's Choice." (Wills, Baltimore Co., Vol. 5, f. 53). These lands lie north and northeast of Black Rock, over towards the source of Prettyboy Run. In the past century they belonged mostly to the Bosson and Thompson families.

(3) On Jan. 15, 1782, there was advertised for sale in the *Md. Journal* a tract (not named), containing 600 acres, and described as situated "on what are called the Barrens of Baltimore, distance from Baltimore Town about 30 miles, and near the road leading to McAlister's Town and York." The road is identified as the Baltimore-Hanover Road. McAllister's Town is the older name for Hanover. (See adv. of J. Calhoun in *Md. Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, May 20, 1783, offering for sale a plantation "within one mile of Hanover alias McCallister's Town.") If the distance from Baltimore Town is correctly estimated, this land should lie in the immediate neighborhood of Manchester, in Carroll Co.

(4) John Stansbury, of Baltimore Co., in his will, December 18, 1781, leaves to his son, Caleb Stansbury, a tract of land called "Hogg Harbour," and to his son John Stansbury, a tract of land called "Stansbury's Prospect," both tracts described as situated "in the Barrens" (Wills, Baltimore Co., Vol. 5, f. 102, 103).

Unfortunately, not all the lands mentioned as situated in Gunpowder Barrens can be identified:

John Tate, who describes himself as "of Baltimore Barrens," advertises in the *Md. Journal* for Dec. 18, 1773, that his wife, Meriam, has eloped. I find no land in his possession at that time.

Thomas Stansbury, Jr., "leaving in about six weeks for Kentucky," advertised in the *Md. Journal*, Sept. 9, 1780, the sale of two tracts of land, containing, respectively, 180 acres and 247 acres. These lands are described as situated "on Gunpowder Barrens"; but the patent names are not given. The smaller of the two is said to be "well timbered," while the larger has "a plenty of young thriving timber fit for fencing." This last suggests the evolution of the sapling land so characteristic of the Barrens, as we have already noted. Considerable effort to identify these tracts of land has ended so far in failure.

<sup>72</sup>See note 2. The fact that the country between Hereford and Mount Carmel was lately known as "the barrens" seems to me almost certainly a case of the survival of the name in a restricted area rather than that of a separate and, perhaps, more recent origin. The trend of the Barrens southwest from the valley of the First Mine Run to the Black Rock Run would have carried them across this stretch of country. If it remained "backward," as it did, we should not be surprised that the ancient designation for a whole region clung to it.



and most of the valley of the Piney Run <sup>74</sup> were most certainly within the Barrens; so too, the head of Buffalo Run. Black Rock Run and Piney Run are the most considerable feeders of the Western Run on its northern side. On the other hand, there is reason to believe that the valley of Western Run, itself, excepting its headwaters, did not come within the Barrens. There is a record of a tract of land situated on the western side of this run "upon the Edge or Beginning of the Barrens of Gunpowder;" <sup>75</sup> but the precise situation of the land remains unknown. This is a tantalizing record as it is the key to a problem, but stubbornly refuses to yield to research. Where indeed was the "west side" of Western Run? If the record is strictly accurate, the land may lie somewhere above Butler and the mouth of Piney Run.

Tentatively, we should place Woodensburg and the head of Western Run, Fourth District, in the Barrens. It seems to be definitely established that land on Cockey's Mill Road, between Reisterstown and the Main Falls of the Patapsco, was in the Barrens.<sup>76</sup> It is not improbable that there was an extension of the Barrens down the Falls so that they joined and made one with that once vast tract of waste land called the Soldiers Delight. There exists contemporary evidence to the effect that Soldiers Delight was regarded as part and parcel of the Barrens of Patapsco.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> In Jan. 16, 1777, Micajah Merryman advertised a reward for return of three steers and a bull, which had strayed from his plantation (Thomas Cox, tenant), "near Mr. Thomas Mathews mill, *in the edge of the Barrens*." His loss is reported as of July, 1776. Attempts to identify his plantation, 1776-1777, have proved futile. The mill, in 1777, stood on Black Rock Run. In *Md. Journal*, Nov. 1, 1775, Jacob Lemmon announces completion of a fulling mill "on black rock run, above Thomas Mathews' mill, formerly Scott's mill."

Mathias Wisner, who was "living in Baltimore County, near Joseph Scott's mill, in Gunpowder Barrens," *Md. Gazette*, Oct. 27, 1774, advertised for the return of a runaway servant.

<sup>74</sup> On Piney Run, adjacent to each other, lay two tracts of land, "Pyney Meadows," and "Brotherhood." A land commission was held, June 26, 1786, on behalf of Leonard Belt, to fix the bounds of these lands, at which time William Parrish, aet. 44, deposed that 12 or 13 years before, "a certain Samuel Price came *out into the Barrens* on purpose to shew the beginning of Pyney Meadows," taking with him John and Stephen Gill and the deponent. (Land Records of Baltimore Co. Liber D. D., f. 387ff.)

<sup>76</sup> In the will of John Frashier, of Baltimore Town, March 7, 1756, is this item: "I will and Order that my Tract of Land called Thompsons Trust, situate, lying and being on the West side of the Weston [sic] Run *upon the Edge or Beginning of the Barrens of Gunpowder* with a caution on the same Lodged in the Hands of Mr. Nicholas Gay for taking up any vacancy, the said Tract as aforementioned I will shall be immediately after my Decease be sold by my Executors to the best advantage" &c. (Wills, Baltimore Co., Vol. 2, f. 94.)

<sup>76</sup> In the will of Peter Bond of Baltimore Co., "innholder," dated Dec. 26, 1762, the testator leaves to his son, Samuel Bond, "all my lands in the Barrens where he is now settled." (Wills, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Md., Vol. 31, f. 894.) "White Oak Bottom" is, most probably, the land "in the Barrens." It lies on the east side of the northern bank of Patapsco Falls, on Cockey's Mill Road.

<sup>77</sup> In *Md. Gazette*, Sept. 23, 1745, there was advertised for sale a tract of land,

On crossing the watershed between the Great Falls of Gunpowder River and the Northern Branch of Patapsco Falls (now one of the chief sources for the supply of water to Baltimore City), the Barrens underwent a change of name. Within the drainage basin of the Great Gunpowder Falls they were called Gunpowder or Baltimore Barrens. In the basin of the Patapsco, in what is now Carroll Co., they were known as Patapsco Barrens.

The upper limits of the Barrens in Baltimore and Carroll Counties do not seem to be clearly established by contemporary records. From Deer Creek westwards, across the headwaters of the Great Falls of Gunpowder River, the Barrens, in all likelihood, ran close below the state line. Lands close to the line in the northwest corner of the Sixth District of Baltimore Co. were within Gunpowder Barrens.<sup>78</sup> That they extended over line into York Co. is unlikely. There lies Shrewsbury Township, and the York Co. historians do not admit that the York Barrens, vast as they were, occupied any part of this township.

Included in the Barrens were a part of the headwaters of Great Pipe Creek.<sup>79</sup> This stream has two principal sources, which unite at Bachman's

containing 250 acres, part of "Scutt's Level." The land is recommended as being situated conveniently for stock, "*there being an outlet to the Barrens of Patapsco.*" "Scutt's Level," 500 acres, was surveyed for John Scutt, March 28, 1702, on a branch of Gwinns Falls called in the survey, and still known, as Scutt's Level Branch. (Patent Records for Land, Liber D. D. No. 5, f. 60.) It lies in the 2nd Dist. of Baltimore Co. Soldiers Delight lies in the northwestern corner of this district, extending from the head of Scutt's Level Branch over towards Patapsco Falls and northward to Red Run. Some have supposed that this natural barrens was named by rangers under Captain John Oldton, who, in the 1690s, patrolled this region, before it was settled by white men, and had their headquarters in a fort called The Garrison, which is still standing. The theory is plausible, but will probably never be proved right or wrong.

<sup>78</sup> In *Md. Journal*, Nov. 17, 1778, there appeared two advertisements, one of Stofel Fair, the other of Alex. [*sic*] Lemmon, junior, giving notice that stray steers, owners unknown, were at their respective plantations. Both men described themselves as "living in Gunpowder Barrens." They were neighbors. Their lands at that date lay in what is now the northwestern corner of the 6th Dist. of Baltimore Co., the old North Hundred, between the Northern and Western Prongs of Gunpowder Falls, not more than 1 mile below the Pennsylvania line.

The author has been at great pains to work out the problem of the ownership and transfers of this land (though the details are not printed), because, in his opinion, to prove that this section of Baltimore Co. was within the limits of Gunpowder Barrens is, relatively speaking, important.

<sup>79</sup> Mr. Hemphill has sent me from Williamsburg, Virginia, a copy of a letter found in the Allison Papers, Box 5 (Jan., 1768), which reads in part as follows: Joseph Ensor, of Baltimore Co., to William Allison: "If you want to see John Kemp he lives *in the Barrens Pipe Creek* [author's italics] about Twenty Miles from Baltimore [not under 30 miles] to go to his house you must go from here you must keep up the Road near North about a mile when you must keep the Left hand Road about seven miles to Ezekiel Towsons who keeps tavern at the sign of the horse [site of Towson Town?] then enquire the way to Wheelers Mill—and also the nearest way to Kemps." &c.

Since the debt-books of Baltimore Co. do not show John Kemp as paying taxes on any land, it has been impossible to identify his place of residence.

Mills, near the foot of the Dugg Hill Ridge.<sup>80</sup> The southernmost of these two head stream rises along the southeastern side of the ridge, and has feeders which rise near the Manchester-Westminister Road. There is every reason to believe that this part of the Great Pipe Creek basin lay within the Barrens; but when we are confronted with proof that lands situated several miles to the westward of the Dug Hill, on Deep Run, were in the Barrens,<sup>81</sup> we are at a loss to explain how these barrens and the main body of the Barrens lying to the eastward, were connected.

The upper limits of the Barrens, in Carroll Co., passed very close to (but in this author's opinion, did not extend beyond) the town of Westminister.<sup>82</sup> Parr's Ridge, a "divide" between the drainage basins of the Monocacy and the Patapsco, which runs southwest from Westminister to Mount Airy, probably limited the Barrens on the northeast. In fact, a definite limit is established for the Barrens on the southern side of this ridge, on Little Morgan's Run. Here is situated a parcel of land, 64 acres, part of "Dorsey's Millfrog," which Caleb Dorsey conveyed to Job Evans, March 10, 1753. The land so conveyed is described as lying in Baltimore Co., "*on the north side of Patapsco Barrens.*"<sup>83</sup>

<sup>80</sup> The origin of this curious place-name is disputed.

<sup>81</sup> In a letter, March 20, 1749-50, Dr. Charles Carroll of Annapolis, writing to Isaac Brookes, Surveyor for Frederick Co., says in part as follows: "Inclosed I send you four certificates there to be returned by virtue of warrants in your hands before vizt High Germany, Carroll's Range, & the Pines, as also Chesnutt Ridge, for which you have a warrant herein enclosed, the latter warrant is for 450 acres but I believe there is no more than 340 in the survey and I would not have it changed as *no Land about is worth Takeing up it being in the Barrens,*" &c. (*Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXIII, 255.)

The aforesaid land, "Chesnutt Ridge," was surveyed for Dr. Carroll, January 24, 1750, and contained 390 acres. It is described as "lying on Deep Run [still so called] a branch of Great Pipe Creek." (Patented Certificate No. 840, Baltimore Co.)

<sup>82</sup> *Md. Journal*, Oct. 26, 1792, contains an advertisement inserted by Wm. McLaughlin, Sheriff of Baltimore Co., which reads in part: "For sale . . . A small tract of land lying in the Barrens of Baltimore County about six miles from Baltimore Town in the neighbourhood of Little Winchester [Westminister], and adjoining the lands of the Hon. Charles Carroll of Carrollton, containing from 100 to 150 acres. The whole of the above property is the estate of the late Charles Ridgely, of John."

The Index of Deeds, Baltimore Co. Land Records, has no reference to the sale of this land and Mr. Waring has not found any such decree in Chancery.

After a serious study of the case, the author has reached the conclusion that the land so advertised was part of "Bond's Meadows Enlarged," a resurvey for Thomas Bond, Jan. 31, 1753, and patented to John Ridgely, father of Charles, Aug 18, (Patented Certificate No. 686, Baltimore Co.).

"Bond's Meadows Enlarged" lay, originally, partly in Baltimore Co. and partly in Frederick Co., extending across the northern part of the town of Westminister. (Chancery Papers No. 50, f. 395-402; Scharf Western Maryland, II, 784.) The adjacent land of the Hon. Charles Carroll, mentioned in the foregoing advertisement, was beyond any reasonable doubt, "Rochester," which was surveyed for him in 1773, and comes within 1 miles of Westminister (Scharf, II, 784).

<sup>83</sup> Baltimore Co. Land Records, Liber B.B. No. J, f. 12. The tract of land in question lies on the Old (not the present) Liberty Road, where is crossed the old



Some account of the geography of the Fork of Patapsco Falls in what is now Carroll Co. is indispensable at this juncture:

The North Branch of the Falls and its Northern Prong, which heads up near Westminster, receives, on its western side, the following streams, or "runs" which are worthy of mention:

Roaring Run, the valley of which lies between the Reisterstown Turnpike and the Falls; then, Beaver (Dam) Run, one of the two head branches of which is called Middle Run; Middle Run; Morgan's Run and Piney Run. Morgan's Run is the most considerable; Piney Run, the next. Morgan's Run rises along Parr's Ridge. One of its two head streams is called Little Morgan's Run (the former Burnt House Run). Something over three miles above its mouth Morgan's Run is joined on the west by (another) Little Morgan's Run.

The so-called South Branch of Patapsco Falls, formerly known as the Western or Delaware Falls, which divides Carroll Co. from Howard Co. receives two important affluents on its northern side: Gillis' Falls and Piney Branch. One of the affluents of the former is called Middle Run.

This part of the county has three streams called Middle Run; two called Little Morgan's Run; two streams called "Piney."

Beaver (Dam) Run rises near the Reisterstown Turnpike, in the immediate neighborhood of Westminster, and empties into the North Branch of Patapsco Falls about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles south of Finksburg. It is about 9 miles long. Cockey's Mill Road crosses the Falls at the mouth of this stream. Not less than 7 of these 9 miles, measured from the source downwards, lay within the Barrens,<sup>84</sup> and it is by no means excluded

boundary line between Baltimore and Frederick Co., near Dennings. The author is indebted to Dr. Aruthr G. Tracey for fixing precisely the situation of a tract of land called "The Stage" at the head of Little Morgans Run "the Burnt House Run). These data have been very helpful in reaching the foregoing conclusion. It should be added that "Dorsey's Millfrog," 430 acres, was surveyed for Caleb Dorsey, July 4, 1751 (Patented Certificate No. 1470, Baltimore Co.).

<sup>84</sup> There exists no reasonable doubt that the headwaters of Beaver Dam Run (now known as Beaver Run) lay within the Barrens. Evidence to that effect has already been presented. It is a question, therefore, to show how far down this valley the Barrens extended:

On May 2, 1769, James Hammond conveyed to Isaac Hammond a tract of land containing 100 acres, called "Hammond's Meadows," "scituate on Patapsco Barrens in Baltimore County." (Land Records of Baltimore Co., Liber A. L. No. A., f. 246; Scharf Papers, Additional Rent Roll, Western Shore, Baltimore Co., 1758, part 2; Particular Tax List, Baltimore Co., Delaware Upper Hundred, 1798; Land Records, Baltimore Co., Liber WG. No. 92, f. 7.) It lies in Carroll Co., on the S.W. Fork of Beaver [Dam] Run, called the Middle Run, which rises near Fenby, and unites with Beaver Run above Walnut Grove.

In the *Md. Journal* Aug. 20, 1784, there was advertised for sale, by John Gay Moore, a tract of land containing 200 acres, being part of a larger tract called "The Flag Meadow," "lying in Patapsco Barrens, near the road leading from Baltimore to Frederick Town, and about 7 miles from Reisterstown." The Flag Meadow, a resurvey on 10 acres, was laid out for James Moore, Jr., July 20, 1754, and included no less than 1124 acres of vacant land. It lies on a "glade"



that the Barrens extended down the run and the Falls all the way to the aforesaid crossing. West of Finksburg an indentation in the southern edge of the Barrens seems to have developed, and their limits on Morgan's Run appear to have been situated a little above Glee's Mill, between 5 and 6 miles above the mouth of that considerable watercourse.<sup>85</sup> If so, the distance across the Barrens, at their lowest limit on Morgan's Run, northwest to Deeming, at the foot of Parr's Ridge, was less than 5 miles, which is considerably less than Carroll's figure as to the depth of the Barrens, and almost certainly less than the average. In the valley of Piney Run the Barrens came down to within a few miles of Springfield Hospital,<sup>86</sup> if they did not actually take in the side of this institution.<sup>87</sup>

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called the Flag Meadow, "which descends into Beaverdam Run which descends into the North Fork of Patapsco Falls." The Flag Meadow Branch or "Glade" descends into Beaver (Dam) Run on its western side about 1 miles west of Finksburg.

In *Md. Journal* April 7, 1778, Simon Vashon advertised a reward for the return of a convict servant who had run away from his plantation "in Patapsco Barrens." The aforesaid Vashon, or Vashan, and one Wm. Randall, in 1775, purchased of Thomas Stevens, 25 acres, "Long Meadow" and 188 acres, "Stephens Folly Resurveyed," "beginning at a bounded white oak standing on a rock on the North side of the Beaver Dam Run descending into the Great Falls of Patapsco." (Land Records, Baltimore Co., Liber A. L. No. N., f. 302.) So far as I can learn, Vashon had no interest in any other land in 1778. Here, then, in 1778, was, in all probability, his plantation. The tract of land so conveyed lies on the Beaver (Dam) Run, within 1 miles and northwest of Finksburg.

Finksburg lies north about 1-½ miles above the mouth of Beaver (Dam) Run. No certain proof has been found that the Barrens extended down the valley of this run to its mouth. However, according to evidence which has already been presented, land on Cockeys Mill Road, east of the Falls, was in the Barrens, and we should not be surprised if there were barrens on the opposite side of the Falls.

<sup>85</sup> In *Md. Gazette*, Mar. 23, 1769, John Campbell offered for sale a tract situated "in the Forest of Baltimore County, joining the land where Benjamin Barnes formerly lived." This land was "Campbell's Search," which, according to the advertisement "joins the Barrens." The tract lies in Carroll Co., between Nicodemus Road and Morgan's Run, between 3 and 4 miles of Finksburg, southwest of Bird Hill, on a small branch of Morgan's Run, the mouth of which lies a short distance above Glee Mill, 5-¾ miles above the mouth of the run.

<sup>86</sup> John Dorsey, of "Elk Ridge Landing," inserted in *Md. Gazette*, Nov. 23, 1767, following advertisement: "I have a Tract of Land lying in the Barrens of Baltimore County containing about Two Thousand five hundred acres, on which there is a good deal of fine meadow, the soil is particularly adapted for making colour'd tobacco. . . ."

There is no doubt that this extensive tract in the Barrens was "Windsor Forrest," on Piney Run (not to be confused with a tract of land of the same name, lying in Anne Arundel [now Howard] Co.). This "Windsor Forrest" was later resurveyed for Dorsey as "Windsor Forrest Resurveyed"; later still resurveyed for Wm. Buchanan as "Windsor Forrest Corrected." Mr. Waring has been of great help to the author in working out this problem. It is important, because we have no other evidence, except by inference, for the Barrens so far down the Piney Run.

On Sept. 15, 1764, there was surveyed for John Dorsey "John's Industry," patented and surveyed to Wm. Lux, included 603 acres vacant land one patented tract, "Hawk's Acre." The latter survey for Edw. Dorsey, Apr. 10, 1761, is described as taking its beginning on north side of Lone Tree Branch, a draught

All the upper valley of the South Branch of the Patapsco<sup>88</sup> (the former Western or Delaware Falls), including Gillis's Falls,<sup>89</sup> in Carroll Co., lay in the Barrens. How far down the South Branch the Barrens extended is a question which cannot at present be answered. In the opinion of this author they came pretty close to Sykesville, which is to say, within 5 miles of the junction of the 2 main branches of Patapsco Falls.

Within the area of that part of Carroll Co. which was once occupied by the Barrens a very great quantity of land remained "vacant," that is,

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of Western Falls of the Patapsco. Lux conveyed "John's Industry" to Wm. Russell (Liber A. L. No. D, f. 521). Russell advertised for sale in *Md. Journal*, April 13, 1779, "To be sold, also at private sale, a tract of Land in Baltimore County, near W. Hardigan's Tavern, on the main road from Baltimore to Frederick Town [the Liberty Road]. *Although this land lies in what is commonly called the Barrens*, its quality is very good, the soil being well adapted to planting or farming, it is full of wood and abounds in the best meadow lands. The Piney Fall of Patapsco runs through it. There is plenty of water and the best of range." The property may have been as valuable as it was represented to be, but if so, its virtues were slow in being discovered, since it was vacant land as late as 1761. In *Md. Journal* May 8, 1781, Russell again offered it for sale. The property is described as situated on the Piney falls of Patapsco, 30 miles from Baltimore Town, and 1/2 mile from William Hardigan's Tavern. This tavern is shown on Griffith's Map of Maryland, 1794. In the opinion of this author, it stood at Winfield. The Lone Tree Branch must be the head stream of Gillis's Falls. The sources of Piney Run and Gillis's Falls interlock about Winfield.

<sup>87</sup> Scharf's description of the condition of a tract of 3000 acres, bought by George Patterson in 1824, later known as Springfield Estate, is suggestive: The land, afterwards developed by Patterson into a farm noted for its fertility, presented "a naked surface, incapable almost of cultivation." Overworking may have brought about this condition, but it remains possible that these lands had once formed an integral part of the Barrens. See *Western Maryland*, II, 871.

<sup>88</sup> On Sept. 24, 1755, Daniel Clary of Frederick Co. conveyed to Benjamin Clary of Baltimore Co. 74 acres, part of a tract of land called "Buck Bottom," and described as "situate in Baltimore County in the Barrens near the head drafts of the Western Falls of Patapscoe River." (Baltimore Co. Land Records, Liber B. B. No. J., f. 593.) The author has put himself to considerable pains in the hope of fixing definitely the situation of land conveyed by Clary to Clary, 1755, but with only partial success. It lies in the 9th (Franklin) Dist. of Carroll Co., and it seems fairly certain that it is situated in the valley of the Middle Run of Gillis's Falls, south of the Harrisville Road, and to the northeast of Mount Airey. "Buck Bottom" was part of the estate of Upton Hammond, who died in 1822.

<sup>89</sup> In *Md. Journal*, Dec. 15, 1778, there appeared an advertisement of the sale of divers lands, including 4 tracts, all lying in a body, adjacent one to another, namely, "String Enlarged," 644 acres, part of "Mansell's United Friendship," 359 acres, "Mansell's Purchase," 1400 acres, and "The Scheme," 14 acres, in all, 2477 acres. These lands are described as situated between 25 and 30 miles from Baltimore Town. They have (thus candidly runs the advertisement) "*no timber, except on the main western fork of the Western or Delaware Falls* [meaning, the South Branch of Patapsco Falls, above the mouth of the North Fork, now called Gillis's Falls] where enough may be procured to build tobacco houses." The mouth of Gillis's Falls is a short distance above Woodbine.

Here we have a typical picture of lands in the Barrens: no timber, except on bottom lands along a watercourse.

not taken up, until well after the middle of the 18th century.<sup>90</sup> This phenomenon is attributable to the fact that it was taken for granted that lands in the Barrens were of inferior quality and, generally, of little if any value for agricultural purposes.

In Howard (then part of Anne Arundel Co.) the Barrens occupied an extensive area, which was bounded on the north by the South Branch of Patapsco Falls, and which stretched from Snowden's River, the main freshwater branch of the Patuxent, over across Cattail River<sup>91</sup> (Creek) to the Middle River of Patuxent.<sup>92</sup> A number of contemporary references to these barrens are in hand, most of them, unfortunately, obscure; resisting interpretation.<sup>93</sup> A general idea of the situation of the Barrens in Anne Arundel Co. is provided by an advertisement which appeared in the *Maryland Journal* April 8, 1777, wherein John Dorsey, who describes himself as "*living in the barrens of Anne Arundel County, the back part of Elk Ridge,*"<sup>94</sup> offers a reward for the return of a runaway servant. This section of the Barrens was doubtless almost, if not wholly, comprised within the bounds of an old division of the county called "The

<sup>90</sup> Between 1759 and 1773 nine tracts were resurveyed and were found to contain 26,516 acres of vacant land. The tracts were The Flag Meadow, Hooker's Meadows, Stevenson's Deer Park and Troutng Streams, Upper Marlboro, Peach Brandy Forrest, Eppington Forrest, Everything Needful, Rochester, and Caledonia.

<sup>91</sup> A tract of land called "Hamutels Choice," surveyed for Richard Welsh, July 31, 1755, and containing 5 acres, is described as follows: "lying in Ann<sup>11</sup> County on the Drafts of Snowdens River of Patuxent *in the Barrens* Beginning at two Bounded chestnuts standing on the west side of a Hill facing one of the Drafts of Cattail River." (Scharf Papers, Additional Rent Roll of the Western Shore, Anne Arundel County, 1755.) "Prospect," 10 acres, surveyed for Christopher Geist, September 20, 1740, is described as "lying on the fork of Patuxent River and on the Westernmost Branch of Catail River *in the Barrens.*" To this entry in the rent-roll is appended the following note: "No Land clear of Elder Surveys." ("Anne Arundel Co. Land Records, 1651-1774," f. 400, MS, Md. Hist. Soc.)

<sup>92</sup> On May 9, 1751, there was resurveyed for Michael Wallis a tract of land called "Curry Galls," described as "lying and being in Anne Arundel County in the Barrans near the head of the Middle River of Patuxent" (now called the Middle Patuxent). The resurvey mentions a "Barren Ridge" and calls for a tract of land named "Henry and Peter." The original surveys calls for a stream named Mewshams Branch, which has not been identified. (Patented Certificate No. 372, Anee Arundel Co.)

<sup>93</sup> In inventory of Edward Dorsey, of Caleb, of Belmont, April 16, 1799, are listed Negroes and stock "at the Plantation in the Barrens," and crops of wheat and rye "at the Barrens Farm." (Hall of Records, Anne Arundel Co. Records, Box 44, folder 38.) It is likely, although not certain, that these lands in the Barrens were situated in Anne Arundel (now Howard) Co.

A tract of land called "The Neglect," surveyed for John Howard, December 31, 1754, in Anne Arundel Co. "on the south side of the falls of Patapsco River in the Barrens Beginning at 2 Bounded white oaks and a Bounded Red Oak standing at the head of a Draft of Patapsco falls." (Patent Records for Land, Liber B. C. & G. S. No. 4, f. 293.) A resurvey made for John Martin, Jr., Mar. 18, 1761, and patented same year to Geo. Shipley brings out fact this land stands on Western Falls or South Branch Patapsco; Pat. Cert. No. 235, A. A. Co.

<sup>94</sup> Virtually all of what is now Howard County was once called "Elk Ridge."



Hundred For the Barrens," but usually designated as Bear (or Bare) Ground Hundred, from a place of that name. The following entry is in the Anne Arundel Co. court proceedings for November, 1755: "The Hundred for the Barrens is divided by a line drawn from the Wading place over Snowden's River near Spire's the Taylor to Pooles Branch and with Pooles Branch to the falls of Patapsco."<sup>95</sup>

The limits of Bare (*sic*) Ground Hundred are defined in an entry in the Anne Arundel Co. court proceedings in November, 1752.<sup>96</sup> The eastern bounds were the Middle Patuxent and Poole's Branch, a stream flowing into the South Branch of Patapsco a little way below Hood's Mills. Its southern boundary was a road leading east from Snowden's River, at Green's Bridge, a short distance above the mouth of Hawlings River, to the Middle River aforesaid.

The further progress of the Barrens to the westward, from the heads of the South Branch of Patapsco Falls and the Main Branch of the Patuxent, seems to be fairly well attested. We have Lloyd's statement (1721) that the Barrens stretched all the way from the Susquehanna to the mouth of the Monocacy; and Carroll's (ca. 1753) that they extended "*thro* this Province" [Maryland]. These statements, made by highly competent observers, would not be true, if the Barrens, in their march towards the southwest, stopped short of the Potomac by a distance of some 16 miles. Further, there is the testimony of Richard Brightwell (1697) as to the "barrens" lying "backwards" from the Potomac, which he sighted in his ranging. But, aside from evidence of extensive barrens on the Little Monocacy,<sup>97</sup> details are, unfortunately lacking.<sup>98</sup> Brightwell reports that he ranged up the Potomac to the Sugar Lands. Did he sight the main body of the Barrens? Did the Barrens extend so far below the mouth of the Monocacy? If not, what were the characteristics of the "barrens" observed by the ranger-captain? The answers are not forthcoming.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> Anne Arundel Co. "Judgment," 1754-1756, Liber I.S.B. No. 2, f. 342. Thanks are due to Mr. Hemphill for completing this reference.

<sup>96</sup> Anne Arundel Co. Court Proceedings, "Judgments," Liber I.S.B. No. 2, f. 438. The author is indebted to Mr. Hemphill for calling his attention to this record.

<sup>97</sup> *Md. Gazette*, August 2, 1763, an anonymous advertiser offers for sale 760 acres of land (not named) or Little Monocacy, "having Barrens on both sides." The neighborhood of the Barrens was considered desirable because of fine range for stock lay within easy reach.

<sup>98</sup> Mr. Hemphill has given the author a copy of a notice from the *Md. Gazette*, Oct. 24, 1750, concerning two "highwaymen," who, having "stopp'd Capt. Judd and Mr. Chase, on the Patapsco Road, were seen near the Barrens in Frederick County on Saturday last; but not yet taken."

<sup>99</sup> There was certainly a considerable area of barrens at the headwaters of Rock Creek, now in Montgomery Co. at the beginning of the 18th century. That these barrens were continuous with, and formed a part of, the Barrens seen and reported by Brightwell is quite possible. On Aug. 19, 1714, John Bradford, of Prince George's Co., petitioned the Land Office on behalf of Thomas Butler, an orphan



In this connection one striking fact must be noted, namely, that about the end of the American Revolution, the western part of Montgomery Co. contained a vast amount of land of a type called "sapling land." Sapling lands, as we have shown, were characteristic of the Barrens. Tax-lists of this country for the year 1783, made out according to "hundreds," clearly reveal this fact.<sup>100</sup> It appears that by "sapling land" the assessors of these hundreds mean both uncultivated land, overgrown with saplings, and cultivated land of the same type. Now, in Sugar Land and Upper Potomac Hundreds there were some 37,206 acres of so-called "sapling land," of which 8873 acres were cultivated. Besides the "sapling land" there were only 4120 acres entered as "good land"; 1350 acres as "good timb[er]d land," 500 acres as "rich" land, 1204 acres as "poor land," 150 acres as "thin land," and 450 acres as "mean land." A few thousand acres more are given a low rating. In Sugar Loaf and Linganore Hundreds there were some 25,806 acres of uncultivated sapling land.<sup>101</sup> Consideration should, of course, be given to the relatively late date, and allowance made for the destruction of timber not only by the individual planter and farmer, but more especially in the interest of the iron and glass industries.<sup>102</sup> Nevertheless, the origin of the sapling lands, as we shall presently observe, seems not to have been attributed to these causes by the local inhabitants. They attributed it to fire.

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who was possessed in fee simple of 2 tracts of land situated at or near the head of this creek, "Hermitage," and "Joseph's Park," requesting a warrant to resurvey these lands on the ground that a "considerable part" of each of them was "very mean, Barren and unprofitable." The petitioner asked for authority to leave out such parts as were "useless, mean and Barren," and to add a like quantity of "good tillable Land" lying adjacent to the aforesaid tracts; but if none be found adjacent "to supply such said Barrens," he desired a warrant for the same amount to be laid out elsewhere. (Warrants, Liber A. A., f. 333 &c.) These lands were accordingly resurveyed into one tract of land called "Butler's Parke," containing 7400 acres. The survey is dated Sept. 17, 1714. The barren lands left out came to 704 acres, a deficiency which, apparently, could not be made up by taking in adjacent vacant land of good quality. (Patent Records For Land, Liber R. Y. No. 1, f. 190 &c.) For the situation of these lands see Scharf, *Western Maryland*, I, 647.

<sup>100</sup> These tax lists are in the Maryland Historical Society.

<sup>101</sup> The assessor distinguishes between sapling land, on the one hand, and, on the other: *chesnut* sapling land; *strong* sapling land; *thin* sapling land; *midling* sapling land; *lofty* sapling land; *common* sapling land; *kind* sapling land, and *brown* sapling land. He distinguishes: *timbered* land; *strong* timbered land; *brown*, *strong*, timbered land; *middling* kind land. One tract is "all wooded chiefly Barren Hills." In contrast to these fine distinctions, the assessors for Harford Co., same year, have only three: good, middling, and sorry.

The primitive appearance of Sugar Loaf Mountain does not seem to have been "barren." De Graffenried, 1712, found this mountain covered with oaks, chesnuts (chestnut oaks?), and wild nuts. (*Landmarks of Old Prince William*, I, 391.)

<sup>102</sup> We have in mind the Amelung Glass Works on Bennett's Creek. The glass industry had been a cause of a great destruction and dearth of timber in Germany, whence this enterprise came. Lands denuded of timber for the maintenance of the iron industry might in time yield second growth timber, if not cleared, or laid waste by fire. In the *Federal Gazette*, March 2, 1798, Leigh H. Master and James

## THE ORIGIN OF THE BARRENS

In this well-known *History of Harford County* the late Judge Preston makes the following remark:

"It was the custome of the Indians in the autumn to set fire to and burn the barrens of York and Baltimore Counties, and tradition says this smoke was the origin of the name of Indian summer for that season."<sup>103</sup>

Maxwell gives abundant proof of the Indian habit of setting fire to the woods "to the end that more wild game might abound, with improved opportunities for hunting it." To this cause he ascribes the vast prairie barrens of the Shenandoah Valley. "Grass covered the region, except for an occasional fringe of trees along the streams [cf. the timbered bottoms of the South Branch of Patapsco River, flanked by barrens]. When the Indians no longer set their fires, trees began to creep back, and the early settlers were obliged to clear away the young growth to open their farms."<sup>104</sup>

Kercheval speaks of the "narrow fringes of timber bordering the water courses" of this "vast prairie," which like the much vaster prairies of the West, "afforded the finest possible pasturage for wild animals."<sup>105</sup>

Rupp attributes the enormous York Barrens in Pennsylvania to the same cause. According to him, it had primarily nothing to do with sterility of soil, but originated "from the circumstances that the Indians for many years, and until 1730 or 1731, to improve this portion of their Great Park for the purpose of hunting, fired the copse or bushes as often as their convenience seemed to call for it; and thus, when the whites commenced settling here, they found no timber, hence they applied the term Barrens, a common appellation at that time, to such portions of the country, however fertile the soil. Portion of the country that were sixty or seventy years ago [1775-1785] without any timber are now [1845] thickly covered with sturdy oaks and large hickories."<sup>106</sup>

In December, 1632, the mariner, David Pieterzoon de Vries, coasting along what was to be the Maryland-Delaware seaboard, smelt the smoke of forest fires started by the Indians, when his ship was more than forty

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Winchester offered for sale a tract of 6000 acres on Little Pipe Creek, adjoining Westminster Town, or Little Winchester, being the estate of Leigh Master, deceased. "It was formerly occupied by iron works [i. e., the Leigh Furnace] which have long since gone to decay, and *the part of the land cut down for coaling is now covered with the increasing quantity of very fine timber.*"

<sup>103</sup> By Walter W. Preston (Bel Air, 1901), p. 168.

<sup>104</sup> Maxwell, *op. cit.*, p. 95ff., begins his article with a reference to the old fallacy that Virginia "at the time it first became known to white men was covered with vigorous and unbroken forests." The same popular fallacy persists as to Maryland. It will probably never be downed.

<sup>105</sup> Kercheval, *op. cit.*, pp. 44, 256.

<sup>106</sup> Rupp, *History of Lancaster and York Counties* (Lancaster, 1845), pp. 566, 567.

miles from shore: "This comes from the Indians setting fire, at this time of the year to the woods and thickets in order to hunt."<sup>107</sup>

Fires set by the Indians in order to bring about conditions favorable to their hunting of herbivorous wild animals, such as deer and elk, had effects which differed according to local conditions. In some place they produced open, grassy areas, or "barrens," as was intended; but they are also held responsible for those open forests, free of undergrowth, which so impressed early writers about Virginia and Maryland, who saw them in their original state: "The woods [i. e., of Maryland in 1635] for the most part are free from underwood, so that a man may travel on horseback, almost any-where, or hunt for his recreation."<sup>108</sup>

This aspect of the primeval forests of Virginia is ascribed by Dr. Bruce partly to Indian fire-hunting: "Freedom from undergrowth was one of the most notable features of the primeval forest of Virginia. In the beginning the absence of undergrowth was partially attributable to the Indian custom of burning the leaves with a view to capturing whole herds of deer by surrounding them with a belt of fire through which it was difficult for them to escape. It was by similar conflagrations that the prairies of the West were denuded."<sup>109</sup>

Dr. Bruce maintains that, the "annual firings of the Indians did not make any impression upon its [Virginia's] vast forests beyond the destruction of many of the smaller trees," since the soil of the colony "was so full of moisture on account of its proximity to the ocean, and so finely adapted to certain forms of vegetable life."<sup>110</sup> With all respect due to Dr. Bruce, this statement seems to this author to be rather too sweeping. He cannot imagine these open forests and groves outside of the "tide-water" region of Chesapeake Bay, and there only on the flats, rich lands of low elevation, where, in the beginning, most of the Indian towns were situated.

In 17th century Maryland, and no doubt in Virginia as well, the sight of recently burnt woods in the wilderness was taken as a sign that Indians had lately visited the place. In a letter, dated May 19, 1698, the Hon. John Addison, of Prince George's Co., writing to Governor Nicholson, gives him the latest news about the rangers in that county: "Six rangers are at the head of the Eastern Branch [Anacostia Creek] at the plantation where James Lile was killed at the mouth of Goose Creek [Tiber Creek, D. C.; now filled in]. They range out there of each company weekly by terms. Captain Richard Owen has been up at the Sugarloaf mountain on this side, his last time out, *but saw no Indians, though the woods there were newly burned.*"<sup>111</sup>

<sup>107</sup> *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey, and Delaware* edited by Albert Cook Myers, Scribner's (New York, 1912), p. 15.

<sup>108</sup> *Narratives of Early Maryland* (New York, 1910), p. 79.

<sup>109</sup> Question: is this theory accepted by geologists?

<sup>110</sup> Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*, pp. 85, 86.

<sup>111</sup> *Calendar of State Papers: America and West Indies, 1697-1698* (London,



Perhaps, the destruction of the woods within the area of the barrens was less complete at their southern end, on the Potomac, than at their northern end, on the Susquehanna. Granted that Indians were responsible for the Barrens, it is a pretty good guess that those Indians were Susquehannocks. If so, they probably began by burning out the woods nearest to home, and worked southwards over the sources of the intervening rivers, toward the Potomac until they had control over a vast area almost bare of timber. At any rate, the theory that an immense and continuous forest, a "forest primeval" lay in their way, and was utterly destroyed, is untenable. We have it on good authority that a large part of the York Barrens was originally very poor land, which, to be sure, in the course of time, has been much improved. We shall presently see how adjacent parts of what is now Harford Co., parts once occupied by the Barrens, once had a very low rating as arable land. Within these bounds there may have lain, at one time, great stretches of country covered with scrub pines, the inferior sort of oaks, sassafras, locust saplings and what not, devastated in places by fires which were due to natural causes. Did such stretches of country near home suggest to the Indians the development of their "Great Park"?

Writing of several townships within the compass of the York Barrens, Rupp informs us that the soil of Fawn Township is gravel, of inferior quality, really poor, on which account this township "legitimately" formed a part of the Barrens. That of Peach Bottom was little better, being "gravel, slate, and rather poor." Of Chanceford he says "soil generally poor"; of Lower Chanceford, "soil gravelly and poor."<sup>112</sup>

The practice of burning the woods seems to have been rife among the planters of Virginia and Maryland in colonial times, and may have been taken over from the Indians. The object in either case appears to have been the development of grazing grounds, whether for wild creatures or for domestic animals.

Writing in 1728, Col. William Byrd, of Westover, tells how the planters of Virginia (he calls them "the Inhabitants") were accustomed to burn the woods every year. He implies that timber trees were not destroyed thereby; whereas, in the wilderness, wherever a forest fire passed, the devastation which is caused was overwhelming, because of the kindling material furnished by the age-old accumulation of leaves, etc.<sup>113</sup>

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1905), p. 253. (Collection 518, No. IX.) See also *Md. Hist. Mag.*, II, 169: Henry F. Thompson quotes Col. Addison's letter, without telling where he saw it. This appears to be a true copy. He has: "but met with no Indians; only the woods there were newly burned [i. e., near Sugar Loaf Mountain]."

<sup>112</sup> Rupp, *op. cit.*, pp. 725, 727.

<sup>113</sup> Wm. K. Boyd (ed.), *The (Secret) History of the Dividing Line* (1929), p. 228. Byrd mentions a thicket in the wilderness, fully two miles in breadth, which was crossed by him and his party. Locust and hickory saplings grew in it, but no great trees even near it; yet the soil appeared to be rich. He attributes this phenomenon to fire (p. 231). Large areas in the wilderness, resembling barrens, were said to have been devastated by caterpillars, and were called "poisoned fields" (p. 160).



And now for Maryland. In the *Maryland Journal* June 19, 1780, James Long advertised for sale a tract of land called "Henry and Elizabeth," situated in Frederick Co., on Bennett's Creek,<sup>114</sup> containing 750 acres. The land is described as abounding with hickories and white oaks. There follows information as significant for Maryland as Colonel Byrd's remark for Virginia: "This tract consists principally of that species of land commonly distinguished as sapling land, though it is intermixed with a sufficient quantity of timber to answer the necessary demands of a plantation. From the flourishing condition of the woods, they appear to have been much injured in former times by the pernicious practice of setting them on fire, which is, in great part, discontinued."

The man who composed this advertisement could not have had Indians in mind, when he spoke of the "pernicious practice" of setting the woods afire. It was then already at least half a century since Indians might deliberately have gone about setting fire to the woods in those parts; and it is affirmed that, while largely abandoned, the practice continued. This outrageous custom, while it undoubtedly came to be looked upon with disapproval and was eventually abandoned in those more eastern parts of Western Maryland where it was first taken up by white settlers, probably from the Indians, spread, it would seem, to the farthest western corners of the state, where it was in vogue early in the 19th century in what is now Garrett Co. There, as we are credibly informed by an observant traveler, Uriah Brown, the inhabitants set fire to the mountains every two or three years, with the most dismal and distressing results.<sup>115</sup>

Two contemporary observers, as we have already noted, attributed the Barrens to thinness or sterility of soil, and if they knew (as they well may have known) that the "Blame" for this situation was more or less chargeable to the Indians, they said nothing about it in such writings of theirs as we have cited. But the Indian theory, even if not exactly proved, has much to be said in its favor, and in the absence of any other theory, I believe that it may be, tentatively, accepted. The Barrens cannot be explained solely on geological grounds.

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<sup>114</sup> Bennett's Creek empties into the Monocacy on its eastern side, about 1 mile above the northwestern corner of Sugar Loaf mountain. The upper part of the valley of this stream lies in Montgomery Co., the lower part in Frederick Co. I believe this valley, in part at least, fell within the area of the sapling lands, which, as we have seen, covered a vast extent of country in the western hundreds of Montgomery County.

<sup>115</sup> "Uriah Brown's Journal," *Md. Hist Mag.*, X, 273-274. Brown, a practical and observant man, was of the opinion that, but for this pernicious practice, the mountains, in spite of the thinness of their soil, would have produced fine merchantable timber. I think this is open to question, but must leave the matter to the professional forester.

## REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

*The Light of Distant Skies, 1760-1835.* By JAMES T. FLEXNER. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1954. xiii, 306 pp. \$10.

James Thomas Flexner's book, *The Light of Distant Skies* is a continuation of early history of American art begun with his book *The First Flowers of Our Wilderness*. The book starts with the generation of Copley, West, and Stuart, a trio of artists of such stature that they were capable of competing on equal terms with the best of European artists.

These men stand at the beginning of a period in which the tradition of the limner is dying out, though Flexner at times slows down the pace of his main argument with a nostalgic effort to keep it alive; and the competently trained professional artist is appearing.

Though the material dealing with this phase of American art is competently treated, it is not new. The real interest of the book lies, for this reader, in Flexner's analysis of the following generation consisting of such men as Trumbull, Vanderlyn, Morse, and Allston. It is this that raises the book above the level of just another history of American art.

These artists were the men, who having received European training and recognition abroad, condescended to return to America with the high minded purpose of leading their countrymen out of their aesthetic wilderness. Unfortunately, while they were endowed with great abilities, they were all gentlemen of aristocratic learnings, who had exaggerated ideas of their own worth and despised the provincialism of democratic America. All of them protested against painting what America wanted, preferring to paint in the "grand manner" or not at all. Eventually they ended up as presidents of academies, centers of adoring groups of aesthetes, or stopped painting entirely.

With them, the romantic myth of the "Genius Rejected" reached American shores. Yet in looking back, these artists with their European affectations and idle pretensions, who talked instead of painting, enjoyed a higher reputation in their own lifetime than they ever have since. Though they might have brought much to America, they succeeded only in introducing an affectation that has been the curse of much later American art.

It is in bringing forth the significance of this crucial generation in American art that Flexner has succeeded in not only clarifying the past, but also in posing a warning for the future.

CHRISTOPHER GRAY

*The Johns Hopkins University*

*The Revolutionary War.* By JAMES STREET. New York: Dial Press, 1954. 180 pages. \$3.

The contrast between this book on the American Revolution and volumes on the same subject by such well known scholars as Trevelyan, Van Tyne and Miller, is striking. The late Mr. Street has written what he calls a "de-mythed account of how the thirteen colonies turned a world upside down." The author, scorning scholarly, pedantic writing for a breezy, informal style, emphasizes the human frailties of many of the founding fathers.

Most readers will find this book both entertaining and enlightening, but members of patriotic societies may be shocked at such irreverencies as: "The first miracle is that we got together. The second miracle is that we stayed together. The third miracle is that we still are together." John Adams "was Sam Adams' cousin. But there was no resemblance. They had nothing in common except their names and Cousin John loathed Cousin Sam." "Germans were very numerous; in fact so numerous that German almost became our national language." Regarding Alexander Hamilton: "There is no big city, no state to honor his name; but there's a good watch."

Mr. Street's thesis is that we should not have won the war but we did because England blundered even more than we; because the colonies had a handful of truly great leaders eager to revolt; because France was on our side with money, soldiers, and ships; and because of the fact that for the first time in modern history England fought without an ally. "It was a hit and miss war, and, in the clinches, we hit and England missed."

The author packs a lot of drama and history into 180 pages. The content of the book is controversial and Mr. Street's style both readable and quotable.

JOSEPH E. HOSKINS

*Pennsylvania State University*

*The Federalism of James A. Bayard.* By MORTON BORDEN. New York: Columbia, 1955. i, 256 pp. \$4.

James A. Bayard (1767-1815) was Delaware's best-known Federalist. In the House of Representatives he played an important part in determining that Jefferson would become President in the disputed election of 1800. In the Senate he opposed war with England and was a member of the peace delegation sent to Europe to end it. He followed an independent course in Congress and did not always obey party dictates.

Probably he would have risen to new heights if he had not died shortly after his return from Ghent. "Upon his decease in 1815," the author

observed, "America lost not a man of great brilliance, the rare exception who rises above the clouds of mediocrity to touch the star of genius, but a man of tact and common sense who had served his country well."

This biography adds much to our knowledge of Delaware politics at the end of the 18th century and is of some national significance. It is to be regretted that the footnotes are not placed at the bottom of the page and that the Bayard family papers were not consulted. The author has carefully searched many manuscript collections and presents his findings in an interesting way.

HAROLD HANCOCK

*Otterbein College*

*The Washington Papers*. Edited by SAUL K. PADOVER. New York: Harper, 1955. 430 pp. \$5.

This is the third one-volume anthology edited by Professor Saul K. Padover of the New School For Social Research. The high standards of the Jefferson and Madison compilations, however, are not repeated in the present work. To be sure, all three books serve useful purposes, for at our fingertips is available the gist of their writings, the quintessence of their characters and careers, ideas, and influences. As such, they make valuable adjuncts to biographical readings.

After a brief but provocative introduction, Professor Padover divides *The Washington Papers* under three headings labeled "Personal," "Political," and "Maxims, Mottos, Brief Opinions." These divisions, however, are not fast and true. For the "Personal" section contains several extracts which deal more with political fact and opinion; the "Political" section contains material on agriculture and education; the final section is a meaningless collection of brief quotations arranged in alphabetical order. Thus Professor Padover has extracts on "Agriculture" and "America" but nothing on aliens; extracts on "Charity" and "Citizens" but nothing on chastity; extracts on "Generals," "Germans," "Gestures," and "Gifts," but nothing on gentility, geometry, Gibraltar, or gipsies. This last part, then, is without rhyme or reason.

Despite the poor arrangement, there is a wealth of enjoyable reading to be found in this collection. The casual reader can dip in at any page and be amply rewarded. Washington's comments on Jefferson and Hamilton as well as Thomas Paine, his farewell orders to the armies and his first address to Congress, his voyage to the Ohio in 1754 and his triumphant trip to New York in 1789, the "naked army" he led in the Revolutionary War and the new nation he guided as President—these are typical samplings of the contents.

A one volume edition of *The Washington Papers* has been badly needed. Now a competent one volume biography would be most welcome.

MORTON BORDEN

*Ohio State University*



*The Colonial Records of South Carolina: The Journal of the Commons House of Assembly, 1742-1744.* Edited by J. H. EASTERBY. Columbia: South Carolina Archives Dept., 1954. xi, 607 pp. \$12.50.

The program of the South Carolina Archives Commission to preserve for posterity their rich collection of colonial public records is one that will be commended by all persons interested in this period. Because of their importance to colonial researchers, the journals of the legislative branch are being published first. This series will be followed by the publication of the journals of the Council, documents on file in the British Public Record Office, and continued "until all the more significant documents have been printed."

In the series of the Commons House Journals the general plan has been to cover in a volume the proceedings of one or more General Assemblies. In the journal of the period from September 14, 1742 to May 25, 1745, the editor, to avoid a volume of awkward size, has presented the journal in two parts; the first covering the proceedings from September 14, 1742, to adjournment on January 27, 1744, and the second part (yet to be published) will cover from February 20, 1744, to adjournment May 25, 1745.

The text of this volume was copied from the original manuscripts in the custody of the South Carolina Archives Department. These sessions of the Commons House of Assembly are concerned with a variety of subject matter. Of immediate concern was the settlement of the public debt incurred by an expedition into Georgia and the necessity of defense preparations as an outpost of the British Empire, about to be drawn into the War of the Austrian Succession. Internal controversy between the Commons House and the Council over the election of a public treasurer is also revealed, as well as friction over defense and taxation plans.

Mr. Easterby, a competent scholar in his own right, is performing an outstanding service in bringing to scholars and those with a general interest in the colonial period, the South Carolina Records. These volumes are a significant addition to our colonial documentary materials. An extensive index is appended and is of incalculable value in the use of the journals.

SUZANNE LOWITT

*Mitchell College  
New London, Conn.*

*Some Account of the Pennsylvania Hospital.* By BENJAMIN FRANKLIN; introduction to facsimile edition by I. BERNARD COHEN. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1954. xxx, 40 pp. \$3.25.

For some strange reason this important work has never been included in an edition of Franklin's collected writings. Mr. Cohen has done the

historical (as well as the medical) world an invaluable service in presenting in facsimile one of the first—and presumably most effective—American fund-raising brochures. Promoters of good causes today would learn much from a study of Franklin's technique. His method was simple. With a minimum of explanatory and connective narrative, Franklin presented to the public a collection of official documents relating to the Hospital's founding and the first two years of its operation, one of the most interesting of which is a table listing the number of patients treated and the number cured, "relieved," incurable, "taken away by their friends," or dead. Fortunately, the "cured" outnumbered the "dead" six to one, a record of which an 18th century hospital could well boast.

Mr. Cohen's excellent introduction not only describes Franklin as a promoter of worthy projects, but also shows how Cotton Mather influenced Franklin's humanitarian thinking.

GLENN WEAVER

*Connecticut College*

*George Mercer Papers Relating to the Ohio Company of Virginia.* Edited by LOIS MULKEARN. Univ. of Pittsburgh Press, 1954. 731 pp. \$10.

Historians will welcome this publication of another large assortment of Ohio Company documents. These Mercer Papers are principally taken from the Darlington Memorial Library, although there is included a significant sixty-two page pamphlet and notes from the collections of the New-York Historical Society, entitled "The Case of the Ohio Company, Extracted from Original Papers." The book is divided into two parts: these company papers of 392 pages and an exhaustive commentary, detailed annotations, and a sizeable bibliography of 310 pages.

The life of the Ohio Company lasted about twenty-four years, 1747-1771. Although it did not realize in that time the dream of its organizers, who were expected to make fortunes from the land and trade, its history is valuable for a close view of colonial administration. Because the future of the company was interwoven with land policy, Indian relations, western boundaries, colonization, and British and American politics, its history unfolds in story book fashion the major events of our pre-Revolutionary struggle for self-government.

The author has done a tremendous amount of detailed work in editing these papers and has consulted most of the available materials. Her bibliography omits, however, the recently edited *Robert Dinwiddie Correspondence* by Louis Knott Koontz (film, University of California Press, 1951), his life of Robert Dinwiddie, and the important monograph by Thomas P. Abernethy. Unfortunately, too, the author does not evaluate these papers in the light of the work of Professors Gipson and Alvord and that of Professor Kenneth P. Bailey who has published two significant

volumes on the Ohio Company and one on Thomas Cresap. Professor Bailey, it should be noted, has used closely related materials, although from Mercer papers at the Library of Congress and the Public Record Office. The reader will be grateful for the 818 footnotes which contain so much valuable and incidental information. Perhaps, this might have been more attractively presented in the commentary. With these exceptions, which are relatively minor when one considers the enormous contribution that Miss Mulkearn has made, the book is a most important source collection and a guide for the identification of many third and fourth level western figures. The University of Pittsburgh is to be congratulated on publishing such a costly and attractive volume.

JOHN A. SCHUTZ

*Whittier College*

*Glimpse of Glory, George Mason of Gunston Hall.* By MARIAN BUCKLEY COX. Richmond: Garrett & Massie, 1954. xvii, 254 pp. \$4.

This is an age in historical writing of the "discovery" of men whose contributions to American life are only smaller than the greatest, acknowledged patriots. Books and articles pour from the presses, and thoughtful readers begin to recognize that our patriots lived in a world of men, many of whom are worthy in their own rights. Strangely, George Mason has been neglected by the professional historian. Until the past winter we could turn only to such sources as Kate Mason Rowland's volumes, published in 1898, or the *Dictionary of American Biography* for details about Mason. Now Mrs. Thomas Riggs Cox, an experienced writer though not a trained historian, has written a pleasant, readable biography of the Virginia statesman, who wrote Virginia's Declaration of Rights and much of the state's Constitution, opposed slavery, and was a strong advocate of the Federal Bill of Rights. She breathes life into the story of Mason, his family and associates—not hesitating to use such devices as imagined conversations and a few imaginary incidents. Gunston Hall, a Buckland masterpiece, is a busy center of activity.

Mrs. Cox will be satisfied, we confidently predict, if she attracts many who might not read an academic study and if thereby they learn of Mason and his house, now managed as a memorial to him by the National Society of Colonial Dames. The volume is well printed, and the drawings by Elmo Jones add to its attractiveness.

F. S.

*Brokenburn: The Journal of Kate Stone, 1861-1868.* Edited by JOHN Q. ANDERSON. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1955. xxii, 400 pp. \$4.95.

Mrs. Henry Bry Holmes (Kate Stone Holmes) died at the age of 66 in Tallulah, Louisiana, perhaps without knowing that she had, some 45 years before, written one of the minor classics of the war years. Now with the able cooperation of Prof. John Q. Anderson of Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College, Kate Stone's diary appears for a larger public.

Kate may be taken as representative of the younger generation on a large plantation in the rich floodplain of the Mississippi River. She was one of the seven children of Mrs. William Patrick Stone, a widow who had acquired the 1,200 acres of Brokenburn and 150 slaves to run it. Kate had an intuitive sense of the greatness of coming events and with the decision of her 21-year-old brother William to be "off to the wars," May 15, 1861, she begins her journal. William survived the war but two other brothers, Coleman and Walter died in the Confederate service before they had come to manhood. The rest of the family suffered too; by June 25 she is writing: "well we have seen at last what we have been looking for for weeks—the Yankee gunboats descending the river." Brokenburn had not long to wait its fate; on March 22, 1863 Kate writes: "Two Yankees came out Friday and carried off my horse Wonka." By the end of the month the Stones fled some miles inland, later to retreat further and further from war-torn scenes until by July Kate is recording her diary from "a dark corner of the far off County of Lamar" in Texas, nearly 300 miles from her beloved Brokenburn.

Kate Stone was a "true Southerner," who in the heat of events could say: "All honor to J. Wilkes Booth, who has rid the world of a tyrant," but who after copying her journal in 1900 wrote: "I have never regretted the freeing of the Negroes. The great load of accountability was lifted, and we could save our souls alive."

It would be tempting to quote further, beyond the limits of a short review; perhaps to readers of the *Magazine*, the following entry, made October 2, 1862, will appeal most:

There is great disappointment over Maryland. It was thought there would be a great uprising of the people as soon as the Stars and Bars should wave across the Potomac, but nothing of the kind. . . . Let the Old Bay State go, if her people had rather be slaves in the Union than masters in the Confederacy.

ROGER THOMAS

*Hall of Records, Annapolis*



*History of the Maryland Hunt Cup: 1894-1954.* By JOHN E. ROSSELL, JR. Baltimore: The Sporting Press, 1954. x, 174 pp.

In this, the first published record since Stuart Rose's excellent *The Maryland Hunt Cup*, which appeared in 1931, Colonel Rossell brings up to date the story of Maryland's, and America's, timber classic. The author reviews briefly the origin and early history of the race, so ably chronicled by Mr. Rose, but his account of the meetings from 1932 to 1954 is detailed, accurate, and above all, readable. In addition to a description of each race, there are chapters on the course, the horses, and the present and probable future status of timber racing, as well as statistical tables for the twenty-three year period. Riders are not neglected, but are not, as in the earlier work, accorded a chapter. The fence by fence description of the present course, however, is a valuable feature.

Through the sixty year history of one race, Colonel Rossell has portrayed the evolution of timber racing from the pounding matches of our forebears to the classics of today. His graphic narrative is enhanced by the lively illustrations of Paul Brown. Together, they should convey, even to the uninitiated, some of the thrill of cross country racing. To followers of the sport, the volume will be a cherished record of some of the most memorable April afternoons in racing history.

W. BIRD TERWILLIGER

*The Papers of Thomas Jefferson.* (Vol. 9, Nov., 1785-June, 1786; Vol. 10, June-Dec., 1786.) Edited by JULIAN P. BOYD. Princeton Univ. Press, 1954. xxix, 669; xxx, 654 pp. Each, \$10.

Two more handsome volumes of *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* appeared in 1954. Each volume enlarges our knowledge of Jefferson and his wide-ranging interests while he was Minister to France. In addition to diplomatic affairs, there are letters on the arts, sciences, and literature—and the "head and heart" letter to Maria Cosway (X, 443 ff.).

While the larger values of the Jefferson papers project are noted and justly praised, the Maryland reader should not overlook the letters of special interest to his state. A letter to the governors of Maryland and Virginia (IX, 599-600) and an exchange of letters with Paul Bentalou (X, 204-205, 296) are examples. There are as well numerous letters to and from William Carmichael, of Queen Anne's Co., representative of the United States at Madrid (1782-1794), whose own papers, it is to be hoped, may yet be discovered.

F. S.

*The American Bibliography of Charles Evans, Volume 13, 1799-1800.*

By CLIFFORD K. SHIPTON. Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1955. xiii, 349 pp. \$25.

With this volume the splendid plan of the late Charles Evans for a chronological bibliography of American imprints from 1639 to 1800 becomes a reality. The completion of this basic research tool reflects great credit both on the sponsoring Society and Mr. Shipton. A supplement and master index volume can be looked for in the future.

*Harbor, 1854-1955, A Century of Photographs of the Port of Baltimore.*

Baltimore: Peale Museum, 1955. 24 pp.

A fine collection of early photographs of Baltimore harbor is the feature of this attractive pamphlet recently issued by the Peale Museum. Many of the pictures have the quality of making the viewer feel a part of a long ago maritime scene. Later photographs illustrate the growing port to the present year.

#### OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

*History of the Engineers Club of Baltimore, 1905-1955.* By ALFRED M. QUICK and THOMSON KING. [Baltimore, 1955.] 59 pp.

*Writings on American History, 1950.* Compiled by JAMES R. MASTERSON and FOREST L. WILLIAMS. Washington, 1955. xiii, 609 pp.

*A National Program for the Publication of Historical Documents. A Report to the President by the National Historical Publications Commission.* Washington, 1954. viii, 106 pp.

## NOTES AND QUERIES

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### THE "AUTOBIOGRAPHY" OF LUTHER MARTIN

The name of Luther Martin (ca. 1748-1826), long the Attorney-General of Maryland and leader of the Bar, is well-known but little information concerning his life and career is available. A biography is now in preparation by Paul S. Clarkson and R. Samuel Jett. We are indebted to Mr. Clarkson who called attention to the "autobiography" and the sequence of events which lead to it.

Both of Martin's daughters—he had no sons—died young as had their mother,<sup>1</sup> and the tragedies must have affected Martin's later behavior. Maria married Lawrence Keene, U. S. N., separated from him and died insane.<sup>2</sup> Eleanora, often called Ellen, married Richard Raynal Keene (unrelated to Lawrence) against her father's will and died in 1807 when a son was born.<sup>3</sup> The child is supposed to have died before reaching maturity. The marriage of Eleanora brought about a pamphlet "war" between Martin and Keene.<sup>4</sup> In defense against an insinuation that Martin's early years included some unsavory chapters, he printed the account of his life which is reproduced below.<sup>5</sup> Apparently the insinuations against Martin lacked foundation; at least nothing further is heard of them. Out of the unfortunate personal affair came the "autobiography"—which might not otherwise have been written—of an important Maryland and national figure.

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. . . Hence it is that I feel myself justified in giving to the public a succinct history of the earlier part of my life and shall flatter myself, that, should I be therein, in some degree an egotist, I shall notwithstanding receive their indulgence.

Two brothers of that family, from which I derive my name, were among the first settlers in East-Jersey. They came immediately, I believe, from Piscataqua in New-England, with the ancestors of the Dunns, the Dunhams, the Fitz Randolphs, the Mannings, the Bonhams, and other

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<sup>1</sup> Maria Cresap Martin died Nov. 2, 1796; *Federal Gazette*, Nov. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Maria Martin was married on April 8, 1808; *Federal Gazette*, April 13.

<sup>3</sup> Eleanora Martin was married on Jan. 27, 1802. She died Nov. 16, 1807; *Federal Gazette*, Nov. 21.

<sup>4</sup> Martin, *Modern Gratitude, in Five Numbers: Addressed to Richard Raynall Keene, Esq. Concerning A Family Marriage* (Baltimore, 1802). Keene, *A Letter from Richard Raynal Keene, to Luther Martin, Esq. Attorney-General of Maryland; upon the subject of his 'Modern Gratitude'* (Baltimore, 1802). Bristol 121 and 114.

<sup>5</sup> *Modern Gratitude*, pp. 131-153.

old and respectable families in that state. They fixed on that part of the country adjoining to the Rariton, on the east of New-Brunswick, and called the township Piscataqua, after the name of the place, which they had left. My ancestors were natives of England; and though I honour the worthy and good of every clime, and am as free from nationality as I think any man ought to be, yet I can truly say I know not a nation on the habitable globe, to be descended from natives of which would give my heart superior pleasure.

That part of the Jerseys, was at the time, of which I am speaking, to a great degree, an uncultivated wilderness, inhabited by its copper-coloured aborigines, yet these first settlers had to build their own huts—to hunt the game of the forest, or ensnare the scaly tenants of the water, for their food; they had to conquer those forests by the toil of their limbs, and by the sweat of their brows to compel the earth to yield to them its stores; for to them the savages of the wilderness did not stretch forth the hand of hospitality, to them they pointed not the openings of their wigwams; to them the savages offered not the flesh of the deer or the bear, the racoon or the opossum, to assuage their hunger, nor the skins of those animals on which they might repose their wearied limbs. In fine, those savages of the wilderness, notwithstanding all that unbounded hospitality and philanthropy of which modern philosophers, and a modern president [Jefferson], have discovered they once were possessed, in so superior a degree, as to shame even the most civilized and polished professors of Christianity, never once formed an idea of introducing those their white-coloured, emigrant neighbours, into their families, and inviting them to participate in all the rights and benefits of children.

I will not say, that it may not be possible, this strange and unheard of unkindness and inhospitality, thus by them experienced, might arise from the circumstance, that these settlers happened not to be "fugitives from distress."

I am an American born, of the fourth or fifth generation. My ancestors were, and most of their descendants have been, of that class or "sect," of people known as agriculturists or cultivators of the earth, and therefore, as Jefferson tells us, have had the happiness of being in the number of "God's chosen people, if ever he had any," of which that sage philosopher seems to entertain as great doubts, as I sometimes am inclined to have, notwithstanding his high authority, of Indian hospitality.

Those two of my name, who first came to that part of East-Jersey, obtained grants for lands highly valuable and to a very considerable extent, which is now broken into small farms;—for they and their descendants have been among those not the least distinguished for their "conscientious desire to direct their energies to the multiplication of the human race and not to its destruction."<sup>6</sup>

For this conscientious discharge of their duty, they needed not the

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<sup>6</sup> See the President's Message to the last Congress.—L. M.'s footnote.



opinions, the advice nor the exhortation of a sceptical philosopher, if any such philosophers were known to them; to those, whose family motto<sup>7</sup> was selected from the sacred code, the command of their God, particularly when that command was accompanied with a blessing, was sufficient.<sup>8</sup> Numerous yet are the persons who bear my name in New-Jersey, to almost all of whom, I am more or less distantly, related, and the descendants from the same family are to be found from the Hudson on the east to the Spanish dominions on the west; in the states New-York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and the Territory north-west of the Ohio.

I was the third of nine children all of which arrived to years of maturity, and all of whom, except one, are yet living. From the moment I could walk until I was twelve years of age, my time was employed, except what was devoted to the acquisition of science, in some manner or other, useful to the family; when too young for any thing else, I rocked the cradle of a brother or sister that was younger.

In my thirteenth year, and in the month of August [1761], I was sent to Princeton College, where I entered the grammar school. I there began the first Rudiments of the Latin language. In September, five years next after, I received the honours of the college; during which period I also studied the Hebrew language, made myself a tolerable master of the French, and among many other literary pursuits, found time fully to investigate, that most important of all questions, the truth and the divine origin of the Christian Religion.

At Princeton, I early formed an acquaintance with the honourable William Patterson, of New-Brunswick, who has with so much credit to himself, and to his constituents, filled so many of the most important offices a discerning public hath bestowed upon him.<sup>9</sup>

He and myself are natives of the same state—he is acquainted with my family, and has well known several of my relations.

It was there we first formed for each other that friendship and esteem, which have continued unimpaired to the present time.

The amiable, the worthy, the brave John McPherson, Esq. who fell with General Montgomery, in the cause of his country, before the walls of Quebec, and myself trode together the flowery paths of science from the grammar school through all the classes of the college:—we graduated together;—about the same age,—our pursuits were the same:—few brothers were ever bound together by stronger bands of affection.

Among those, on whom memory most delights to dwell, was also the worthy and esteemed son of Capt. Thomas Bowden, he was then an

<sup>7</sup> "Iaitum Sapientiae est Timor Deis"—"The fear of God is the beginning of wisdom."—L. M.'s footnote.

<sup>8</sup> "And God blessed them, and God said unto them, be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth." Genesis, chap. 1st, verse 28th.—L. M.'s footnote.

<sup>9</sup> William Paterson (1745-1806), Princeton, 1763, attorney-general of New Jersey, Congressman, Senator, Governor, and Justice of the Supreme Court.

ensign in the British army; but strongly impressed with the great truths of Christianity, on his return to Europe, he gave up his commission, and having there completed his education, took holy orders, became the chaplain of Lord Milton, and is now the respectable Rev. Mr. Bowden of Connecticut.

Among those who, were my class-mates and graduated with me, were the late Chief Justice of the United States, the honourable Oliver Ellsworth, The Rev. Mr. [John] Bacon, now one of the members of congress for Massachusetts.—The Rev. Mr. Balch, of the Territory North-West of the Ohio.—Daniel C. Clymer, Esq. of Reading, Pennsylvania.—Waightstill Avery, Esq. of North-Carolina and David Howell, Esq. of Rhode-Island.

Among those, with whom I formed an acquaintance while at college, and who were not in the number of my classmates I can name the Rev. Mr. Story of Marblehead.—Col. [Nathaniel] Ramsey of the city of Baltimore—his brother Doctor [David] Ramsey of South-Carolina—J[oseph] Haberman, Esq. late Post-Master-General.—The Rev. Mr. Gantt of George-Town.—Pierpoint Edwards, Esq. of New-Haven and the Right Rev. Bishop [Thomas J.] Clagett of Maryland, whose friendship and esteem I also am well known to possess in no small degree.

To any, or to all of these, whose name I have mentioned, and who are now living, I cheerfully refer those, who wish to know what was my character and conduct while a student at that college—either as to the friendliness of my disposition, the correctness of my manners,—my assiduity in my studies, or as to my literary attainments.

From my parents I received a sound mind, and a good constitution. They with unceasing tenderness and zeal laboured to impress me with principles of manly independence—with a spirit of kindness and generosity towards my fellow-creatures, and with reverential love and fear of my God. And as the best security for my performance of my duty in all situations, in which I might be placed in life, they deeply impressed on my young mind the sacred truths of the Christian Religion, the belief of which, though at that time principally owing to education, has since been rivetted by the fullest conviction, grounded on a thorough and dispassionate enquiry; those sacred truths, which, though too often departed from in my practice, have ever remained too deeply engraven on my heart to be effaced by the hand of infidelity—and the belief of which is my boast.

These, with a liberal education, were all the patrimony they could bestow upon me;—a patrimony, for which my heart bears towards them a more grateful remembrance, than had they bestowed upon me the gold of Peru or the gems of Golconda.

Through the fond partiality of my paternal grandfather, I was the owner of a small tract of land on South-River, not far from New-Brunswick—as soon as the laws of my country gave me the power of disposition, I conveyed it to my two elder brothers, as a trifling compensation for the

additional toil they had experienced, in contributing to the support of a family, the expences of which had been increased by reason of my education.

When I graduated [1766] at Princeton college, I wanted near five months of being nineteen years of age. Having previously determined to be no longer a burthen to my family, than till my education was completed, and having fixed upon the profession of the law, against which I knew my father had prejudices,<sup>10</sup> as the mean of my future support and respectability—I had deliberately formed my plan; in pursuance of which, the second day after the commencement, with no other resources, than my horse and the small remains of my pocket money, I left Princeton, accompanied, by young Bowden and a few others of my most intimate friends, as far as Philadelphia—from that place I proceeded with as much dispatch, as I could conveniently make, to the Reverend Mr. Hunt, who then resided in Cecil county, near Octorara Creek, to whom, having been informed he wanted an assistant in his school, I had procured letters of recommendation.

By him I was received with kindness and attention: but found to my disappointment, that a few days before my arrival he had supplied himself with an assistant.

It was there, I first contemplated an application for the Free-School of Queen Ann.<sup>11</sup> The last teacher<sup>12</sup> at that place had formerly lived in the neighbourhood of Mr. Hunt; the account of his death had been recently received, and a relation of his, whom I met at Mr. Hunt's, was preparing to visit the county, in order to settle the affairs of the deceased. I was strenuously urged not only by Mr. Hunt and some of his friends to whom he had introduced me, but also by the young gentleman who was going to Queen Ann, to accompany him, and, as it was understood the mastership of that school was still vacant, to apply for the appointment. They encouraged me to hope for success; of the probability of which I might be able to form some judgment before my companion could finish his business, and consequently should have it in my power to return with him, which they declared to be their wish, provided I met with difficulties they did not foresee. Being furnished with letters of recommendation, we sat out for Queen's-Town in Queen Ann's county; and there, in consequence of the letters, which had been given to me, and the friendship of my companion,<sup>13</sup> who having visited the place, once or twice, while his relation lived there, had acquired a considerable

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<sup>10</sup> I had the happiness to see my father, not only reconciled to my having adopted that profession; but to have my youngest brother, Lenox, by him entrusted to me, when not more than ten years of age, to be brought up by me to the same profession.—L. M.'s footnote.

<sup>11</sup> The Queen Anne's School minute book (1723-1791), one MS volume, is in Md. Hist. Soc. Library.

<sup>12</sup> John Dehorty.

<sup>13</sup> I think his name was Holmes.—L. M.'s footnote.



acquaintance—I soon became introduced not only to some of the trustees of the school, but also to several influential characters in the neighbourhood.

Among those of the trustees, to whom I was thus early introduced, were the late Col. Edward Tilghman, father of Edward Tilghman, Esq. of Philadelphia, Doctor [John] Smith of Queen's-Town—and the Rev. Mr. Neale,<sup>14</sup> uncle of the Honourable Mr. [Joseph Hopper] Nicholson, one of the members of congress for this state, by all of whom, but particularly by the last, I was treated with great politeness and hospitality, and received from them such encouragement as determined me to await the result of the decision of a board of trustees, which, however, could not be had until the lapse of some time, in consequence of the sickness, or absence of some of the trustees, or vacancies in the board to be filled up, or by reason of some other cause not now particularly remembered. Whether I ever in the intermediate time waited on the Rev. Samuel Keene, at his own house, I cannot at this period with certainty say, but as he lived in the upper part of the county, remote from Queen's-Town, I am inclined to think that I never did. On the contrary, as far as my memory serves me, the first time I was introduced to that gentleman was by the Rev. Mr. Neale at his own house, a day or two before the board of trustees met.

Upon the meeting of the board I was, most certainly, preferred "to my competitor," to whom, however "experienced and approved a scholar" he might be, my superiority in that respect was by the trustees not doubted, two of those gentlemen, themselves of a liberal education and good scholars, had taken some pains to ascertain my fitness; and I took with me—from college a testimonial, from the highest authority, "that, in a class of thirty-five, I was the first scholar in the languages,—and second to none in the sciences." My youth was the only suggestion that was by any person made as an objection to the appointment. That the Reverend Mr. Keene, as one of the trustees, voted in my favour I never doubted, and in consequence thereof I have always felt for him all that respect due to a person who performs his duty. He was acting in the execution of a public trust. It was his duty to join in the first opportunity to fill the office; he was sacredly bound, if he thought me the most proper person for the appointment to vote for me and, if he thought I was not such, to vote in favour of my competitor. He was carrying into execution a trust reposed in him by the laws, and in which he could have no possible private interest, unless he was capable of taking a bribe. I was not benefited to the amount of a farthing out of the Rev. Mr. Keene's private fortune, or at his expense. Mr. Keene was not injured, to the amount of a farthing, by any benefit I was to receive. If I entered upon a "post of honour and profit" the "Doors thereto were not, I trust, broken open"

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<sup>14</sup> Probably Rev. Hugh Neill; see Frederic Emory, *History of Queen Anne's County* (Baltimore, 1950), p. 254.



for my entrance. I entered upon the appointment, if to receive a reward, to render services also to the full amount. I was appointed not from favouritism but from fitness. How contemptible then the pretence that I was under obligations to the reverend Mr. Keene, or bound to him by ties of gratitude, because he joined in filling an office, which he could not, without violating his duty to the public, have suffered to continue vacant, and, because filling up that office, he, having no motive of interest to act otherwise, preferred the candidate, whom he thought the most suitable for the appointment.

Is there the most distant analogy between the conduct of the Rev. Mr. Keene towards me and my conduct towards the Nephew? And if I may with justice, in his opinion, be charged with ingratitude towards his uncle, to what depth of damnation doth he thereby consent to sink himself.

I did "enter upon that establishment," which I had thus obtained; and remained therein until some time on the month of April, in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy.

My object, in applying for that establishment was, that it might be to me a temporary support during the time, I should find necessary for the acquisition of a competent knowledge of the law.

The late Solomon Wright, Esq. father of the honourable Mr. [Robert] Wright of the senate of the United States, was at that time living in Queen-Ann.—He was a near connexion of some of those with whom I was early intimate, and whose children were under my care. I was soon introduced to him and became a frequent visitor in his family—from him I had occasionally the use of such books as I had time to read—by him and his very worthy lady I was during the whole time I remained in that county treated almost as a son; and by their children I was always received as a brother.

I continued in Queen-Ann near three years during which period I had availed myself of the vacations to make several journies; at one time I visited my parents in East-Jersey, and on my return purchased in Philadelphia as many law-books as the then state of my funds would enable me to purchase—at another time I made an excursion to Somerset county, where was, at Back-Creck, an academy, in which were employed, as teachers, two most worthy, respectable young gentlemen, who had also been educated at Princeton college, and with whom I had there been most intimately acquainted.<sup>15</sup>

I have already stated that I was only nineteen years of age when I went to reside in Queen-Ann. The profits which I received as master of the free-school were the only funds I enjoyed—from which I had to defray the expences of cloathing, lodging, board, physics, books, travelling and every other incidental charge—I am not even yet, I was not then, nor have I ever been, an economist of any thing but time. No person

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<sup>15</sup> Messrs. Ephraim Bravard and Thomas Reese.—L. M.'s footnote.

will think it a matter of surprise, much less of disgrace, that I did not rigidly restrain my expenditures to my income or that a youth of my age, of a warm and generous heart, left so totally to his own guidance, should become indebted beyond his power of immediate payment. Under these circumstances, and with the concurrence of some of my friends, whose judgment was most relied on by me, I formed the determination to resign my appointment, which I then held, and devote one year solely to the further attainment of legal information; at the end of which time we calculated I should be able to enter upon the practice, after which it might soon be in my power to discharge the debt I had already incurred as well as that which must unavoidably be incurred in the intermediate time. With this view, and preparatory to my resignation, I made a second journey to Somerset county. I had fixed upon the neighbourhood of Back-Creek as the place of my residence, during the year, which I meant to devote to the study of the law. For this I had been actuated by two reasons—I thereby should be, for that period, in the enjoyment of the society of my two friends, whom I have mentioned, and whom I greatly esteemed—I have also, when first in that county, formed an intimate acquaintance with some of the most respectable families, particularly with Levin Gale, William Winder, and Samuel Wilson, Esquires, the last of whom lived on Back-Creek, within half a mile of the academy, which was erected on his plantation, and, who, having been brought up to the profession of the law, although he had ceased to practice, possessed an excellent law library, of which he had expressed a willingness that I should have the use, if I settled in that neighbourhood.

While on this visit, I made all the necessary arrangements for the execution of the plan I had formed, which also received the most perfect approbation of my friends in Somerset; and while there I contracted with a respectable farmer, who lived within a mile of Mr. Wilson, for one year's board commencing from the time, when I expected to have it in my power to return to that place.

My then journey to Somerset, and the objects I had in view, were well known to several of my most respectable friends and acquaintance, in Queen-Ann, and met with their decided concurrence.

I had to return to settle with the trustees for a balance due to me—to give in my resignation; and even to make such arrangements with those to whom I was indebted, as to them should be satisfactory, or, if that could not be effected, at least to look out for some one of my friends, who would be my bail in suits, which might be prosecuted against me.

I did return as was intended. Two creditors, whose debts, altogether amounted to no more than eleven pounds, eight shillings and ten pence, for I have the records before me, having heard, some vague report, that I was about to leave the county, and thinking it possible I might not return, had in the meantime taken out attachments against me to secure their debts. The conduct of those two creditors had created a momentary alarm,

and caused my other creditors to bring suits against me for their claims. Five writs were served upon me. I had no difficulty in procuring security for my appearance. I applied to Solomon Wright, Esq. who then practised in the county court, who was good enough to agree to be my counsel, if necessary, in those actions. He well knew all my views, and the moment my creditors were made acquainted therewith, not having a wish to distress me without benefit to themselves and conscious I would pay them as soon as it should be in my power, at the appearance court, in the month of March, in the year seventeen hundred and seventy, each of the suits were entered "struck off." But what was the amount of the whole aggregate of these debts thus sued for? The debts which had been thus contracted by a youth, in my situation, during a period of about three years?—This paltry sum, not exceeding two hundred dollars! a sum, ten fold, nay much more than ten fold, to the amount of which I have since that time bestowed upon those, with whom I have met during my journey through life, in similar situations, embarrassed, or distressed, without any other prospect of compensation, than the heart-felt delight of contributing to the happiness of my fellow creatures, and the most grateful of sentiments to the Author of all good for thus enabling me to be, in those instances, his representative on earth!

Thus then it was, that with the full knowledge of my creditors, and with their full approbation—without one obstacle to impede—and with their best wishes, and the best wishes of my other friends and acquaintance, in that county, for my future success, I left Queen-Ann, where I had thus resided nearly the three first years after—I had, without a pilot or guide, embarked on the untried ocean of life.

Here then for the present I take leave of Queen-Ann, the inhabitants of which county I ever remember with pleasure and affection.

I now proceed "to a more distant place," though not quite "on the borders of the Pocomoke, from my late abode;"—To which place, though I had found it "Expedient to retire" thereto, any person, who wished to have found me, might have arrived, without much difficulty, even in one day, in a day and a half, making it a mere journey of pleasure.<sup>16</sup>

I had been so short a time residing in Somerset that Messrs. Ramsay and Parker had not heard of my removal from Queen-Ann, when I received the following letter.

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<sup>16</sup> There can be no doubt, the expressions used by Mr. Keene in his letter, page 50, was intended basely to insinuate, what he must have known to be false, "that I wished to be concealed from the knowledge of my former acquaintance in Queen-Ann." Whereas nothing was of more publicity than the place to which I had removed,—It was on the same shore,—in the same province,—and where I might have been made answerable to the courts of justice, for any cause whatever, with nearly or quite as much ease, as if I had remained in Queen-Ann. But Mr. Keene expected his letter to be read by many, who know not the relative situation of places in Maryland;—and it is only for those who are ignorant of facts that he writes!—L. M.'s footnote.

" Colonel Henry's, May 21, 1770.

" Dear Sir,

" I last night received a very angry letter from Mr. Ramsay insinuating that I had intentionally disappointed the managers of that school and entered into other engagements, while a treaty with them was on foot.

" This insinuation I must say is unjust, for I cannot apprehend, that in any particular of that transaction I gave the least room for supposition that I would keep myself in waiting for them.—But the purpose of this billet is not to vindicate myself, but to apprise you, that the gentlemen, in consequence of a hint from me, have determined to apply to you, and I wish, if it may be convenient, and consistent with the plan of conduct you have laid down for yourself, that you could be prevailed upon to oblige them. Perhaps, if you undertake but for a few months, till the gentlemen can elsewhere supply themselves, it might be sufficient to prevent the difficulties they apprehend. Their own letter will, I suppose, inform you of particulars.

" I am, yours, &c

" EPHRAIM BRAVARD.

" Mr. Luther Martin,

" At Back-Creek."

This letter from Mr. B. was accompanied by the two letters following which were delivered me by a messenger, who had been sent with them from Virginia.

" Accomack county, Virginia, May 24, 1770.

" Sir,

" By the bearer you will receive a letter, in which you are informed that we are in want of a person to teach a Grammar School here.

" If you agree to take the offer as mentioned, please send an answer per bearer, directed to James Henry, who will be at Snow-Hill, next week, and if, when you are here, you choose your salary should be collected by one hand, it shall be done.

" I am, Sir,

" Your most humble servant

" GEORGE PARKER.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Father of the present George Parker, Esq. of the Eastern Shore of Virginia.—L. M.'s footnote.



" Mr. Luther Martin,  
 " Queen-Ann's County, Maryland."

" Onancock, May 24, 1770.

" Sir,

" I am about to leave my school and having been disappointed of a successor from Princeton,—and also of Mr. Bravard, I am directed to make application to you by Mr. B. who supposes it might be agreeable to you to accept of my place. My wages are at the lowest par of exchange seventy-eight pounds Maryland money, all good pay, and not varied by the number of scholars;—the place agreeable and healthy. The school is situated in a small town, where the clerk's office is kept, and several other small advantages might be had in the study of the law, which I hear you are engaged in,—about five miles off the court house, where the courts are kept monthly. My time has been up two months, but, however, I would wait another month rather than the school should fall.—If you will please to accept you will be pleased with your situation, and if you do it immediately it will be to me a great favour, but if you will engage to come in a few weeks, you may depend on the place being secured.—We board as in Somerset school.

" Your very humble servant,  
 " And affectionate friend,  
 " DAVID RAMSAY.<sup>18</sup>

" Mr. Luther Martin,  
 " Queen-Ann's."

To Colonel Parker I returned the following answer:

" Sir,

" I have just received your's of May the 29th, and should have been glad it had suited me to comply with your desire; but as it appears to me incompatible with the plan of life I have determined to pursue, I must decline. I should be glad to inform you of any gentleman, who might have it both in his power and in his will, to oblige you, but I know of none.

" I remain your most obedient servant,

" LUTHER MARTIN.

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<sup>18</sup> Doctor Ramsay of Charlestown, South-Carolina, the author of the History of the American Revolution, brother to Colonel Ramsay of Baltimore.—L. M.'s footnote.

" Mr. George Parker,  
 " Accomack County, Virginia."

My answer to Mr. Ramsay was as follows:

" Back-Creek, June 2, 1770.

" Sir,

" I have just received your's of the 29th May,—and in answer shall only observe, that as to the plan of the school—situation of the place, and salary, I should have no particular objection to either;—but having determined to devote this year to the study of the law, to qualify myself for the practice, and having accordingly engaged lodgings, I cannot prevail upon myself to comply with your request.—I should be sorry should my refusal be of any injury to the school, at the same time, I cannot but think, according to my present view of things, it would be imprudent were I to act otherwise.

" I remain, dear Sir,

" Your's affectionately,

" LUTHER MARTIN.

" Mr. David Ramsay,  
 " Onancock."

I thus decidedly refused accepting the charge of the Grammar School at Onancock, as being incompatible with the plan, I had formed for my future conduct; <sup>19</sup> but it being found impracticable to obtain, at that time, any other teacher—a personal interview took place between Mr. Ramsay, some of the trustees and myself, in consequence of which, from their importunity—from their representations of the advantages I might there enjoy for the acquisition of legal knowledge—and their assurance that

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<sup>19</sup> The following is an extract of a letter addressed to me by Waightstill Avery, Esq. of North-Carolina, dated at Salisbury, the 15th, of August, 1770—" Yours, of May last, now lies on the table before me, for which I thank you before I forget it, and I rejoice to hear that you have fixed yourself in a respectable family for a year's necessary and profitable study, in prosecuting this I wish you laborious perseverance.

" There is an extraordinary good opening for a young lawyer in Edenton district, the most easterly part of this province, where, if your abilities for the practice of the law equal your abilities to acquire knowledge in the sciences, you might soon make an estate; there I should have pushed in, but durst not venture my health; I thought it too much like Somerset, and therefore came out here into the west of the province, in a high, hilly country three or four miles directly west of Edenton."

This may serve as further proof of the determination I had made of devoting that year solely to the study of the law; and I had so early as in May, written to my friend Mr. Avery consulting him on the place of my future practice.—L. M.'s footnote.

they would, as soon as possible, endeavour to find me a successor, I was prevailed on to remove from Somerset to Onancock and to take upon myself the temporary charge of the Grammar School at that place. The time of my thus removing was, I presume, about the last of June or the first of August, for in consequence of a few lines I had written, of which I kept no copy, giving information of my having at length consented to remove to Virginia, I received the following letter from the honourable John Leeds of Talbot county.

" Talbot, August 31, 1770.

" Dear Sir,

" I received your acceptable letter but have had no opportunity till now to write to you.—I am most sensibly affected with the kindness and affection you have shewn to the little stranger<sup>20</sup> so far removed from all his friends.—If ever it should be in my power to make you amends for the trouble you have taken, you may be sure it will be a pleasure to me. I am sorry to hear your business calls you so far from him, however we must submit to the loss he will have in your absence. Whenever you can, I hope you will shew him your usual tenderness.

" I am, dear Sir,

" With much esteem and friendship,

" Your obliged friend and

" Humble servant,

" JOHN LEEDS.<sup>21</sup>

" Mr. Martin."

I remained at Onancock superintendant of the Grammar School at that place until about the fourteenth day of October; when, by my letter book, I find the fall vacation having taken place, I left Accomack, called on my friends in Somerset and Talbot, and proceeded to Queen's-Town, to make arrangements for sending, from thence to Virginia, my trunks, which had till then remained in Queen-Anne. From that place I went on to Baltimore, and while there I waited upon Colonel Benjamin Young, who was then the deputy surveyor general of the province of Maryland, and as such had the appointment of the deputy surveyors of the respective

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<sup>20</sup> John Leeds Bozman, Esq. of Easton, between whom and myself there has continued an uninterrupted intimacy and friendship from that time, and who for several years past, has officiated as my deputy for Talbot and Caroline counties.—L. M.'s footnote.

<sup>21</sup> The late honourable John Leeds of Talbot county, who was then one of the judges of the provincial court, and had been one of Lord Baltimore's commissioners for settling the lines between him and W. Penn, of their respective provinces—he was far advanced in life, and a gentleman of great knowledge and information—young as I was when an acquaintance commenced, I acquired his friendship and esteem, with which I was honored until his death.—L. M.'s footnote.

counties; while with him he offered me the deputation for the county of Queen Ann, of which by a letter dated from Kent-Island, October 24th 1770, as I returned, I gave information to the then deputy surveyor. The letter was as follows:

" Dear Sir,

" I left Colonel Young's yesterday, and am sorry to inform you that he designs to displace you. Should you settle with him immediately, perhaps you may prevent it. You having neglected that, is, I believe, his only complaint. He made me an offer of the commission you hold, which I declined,—I should but ill have requitted the kindness I received from you, while I lived in Queen-Ann had I done otherwise.

" Yours, &c.

" L. MARTIN.

" Mr. James Emory

" Deputy Surveyor,

" of Queen-Ann."

And in a letter written by me, a few days, after, to a friend, to whom I mentioned Colonel Young's offer, I find this passage " my principle motive for declining it was, that the surveyor of that county was a person with whom I had a particular intimacy while I lived in that place; I could not endure he should have any reason to think me base enough to do him an injury. No, if I cannot get bread without taking it from the mouth of a friend, let me starve! "

On my return, I spent near a week, in Talbot, with Mr. Leeds and his daughter, the mother of Mr. Bozman,—her son accompanied me as far as Back-Creek, to resume his studies;—at which place I staid two days with my friends, and arrived at Onancock about the second of November, where I again resumed the care of the school, and the prosecution of my studies, until about the first of September in the year of our Lord, seventeen hundred and seventy one; when I waited upon John Randolph, Esq. the then attorney-general of Virginia, and George Wythe, Esq. the present chancellor of that state, at Williamsburgh, and having undergone the examination required by the acts of assembly of that colony, I received a licence authorising me to practice law in the county courts throughout Virginia, and on the 24th of September, 1771, qualified in Accomack county.

It had been my design whenever I should obtain a licence, to fix my residence some where in the upper part of the Northern-Neck, or in parts still more westward in Virginia. And, at as early a period as possible, to make a tour throughout that part of the country to determine on the place: Accordingly having continued the prosecution of my studies until the month of April in the year 1772, I went to Williamsburgh



where the general court was then sitting, and remained there until the end of its session, during which time I formed an acquaintance with many very respectable characters, and particularly with the gentlemen of the bar, who attended that court, among whom were the present judge of appeals and the present chancellor of Virginia, John Blair, Esq. and the late Patrick Henry, John Tazewell, and Thompson Mason, Esq. with the last of whom I had the pleasure to travelling from Williamsburg, as he returned home to his seat in Loudon county. Having continued with that gentleman some days, and received from him the utmost politeness and hospitality, I proceeded to Berkeley, in which county I remained ten or more days, much of that time in the family of colonel Samuel Washington, where I found all that kindness and those friendly attentions I had before experienced while at Mr. Masons. By Mr. Washington I was introduced to other gentlemen of the county, and, among others, to the late General Stevens, who obligingly furnished me with a letter to Colonel Frazer of Bedford; and one or both of those gentlemen gave me letters to Lord Fairfax and to his nephew Colonel Thomas Bryan Martin. In Frederick I spent several days, most agreeably, at his seat not far from Winchester, with colonel Martin, Lord Fairfax was not at home. Before we parted, it was settled that if I fixed on the western part of the Northern Neck for the sphere of my practice, I was to receive the appointment, under his lordship, of a surveyor for one of the counties, as soon as there should be a vacancy.—From Colonel Martin's I proceeded according to appointment, which while in Berkeley I had made with George Brent, Esq.,<sup>22</sup> whom I had there seen, to meet him at Colonel Thomas Cresap's, in Old Town, on a particular day from which place I was to accompany him to Red-Stone and Fort-Pitt.

Mr. Brent and myself there met according to our agreement, and after having staid a few days with Colonel Cresap, and his son, Captain Michael Cresap, we departed for Red-Stone and Pittsburg; our route was by Braddock's-Road. On this journey I had the pleasure of beholding Will's-Creek—Fort-Cumberland—the Little and the Big meadows, Fort-Necessity—Laurel-Hill, and the other parts of the Alleghany Mountains—Fort-Redstone—Braddock's-Fields—Fort-Du-Quense, with the Alleghany and Ohio rivers, and many other objects, of all which, during the war, when a little boy, I had heard and read so much.

While at Fort-Pitt, I spent my time most agreeably. I recollect among those with whom I there became acquainted, Major Ward, Captain McKee, and the late Colonel George Croghan; besides these there was, at that time, a garrison in the fort consisting of a detachment of the Royal Irish, of which many of the officers appeared to be polite and respectable men.

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<sup>22</sup> This gentleman married the grand-daughter of col. Cresap, and the only child of Thomas Cresap, esq. who in an engagement between a party which he commanded, and the indians, killed the indian chief, and was killed by him.—L. M.'s footnote.

At Fort-Pitt, and the settlement in the neighbourhood of Red-Stone, I remained, I believe, upwards of three weeks. On my return, I staid a day with Major Ennis at Fort-Cumberland—I then arrived at Old-Town, where I spent a few days with the two Mr. Cresaps, the father and the son. The kind attentions, the friendly civilities, I on this journey received from that truly hospitable family, gave rise to that connexion, which eleven years after took place between them and myself, and by which I became the happy husband of the amiable daughter of the one, and grand daughter of the other.<sup>23</sup>

The evening after I left Old-Town I reached the house of my fellow traveller, Mr. Brent, who had returned before me. With him I spent the next day, being Sunday; and on Monday I went to the Warm Springs,<sup>24</sup> in Berkeley, from which Mr. Brent lived about six miles distant. At the Springs I found a great resort of company. There, for the first time, I became acquainted with many respectable characters, of both sexes, with whom I have ever since been in habits of friendly intimacy, among others, I there, for the first time, after we had parted at Princeton, met with Mr. Clagett, the present right reverend Bishop of Maryland.—Six weeks I passed most happily at the Berkley springs, when the season being nearly over, and, the company dispersing, I set my face homeward. As I passed through Loudon, I revisited Mr. Mason, and again for a few days partook of his friendly hospitality. As I came down the Potomac, I viewed, for the only time in my life the Great Falls. It was a little before sunset—The scene has never effaced from my memory. I spent a day in Alexandria, it was the first time I had ever seen that city; from thence I crossed into Maryland, to visit Mr. Clagett, whom, before we parted at the springs, I had promised to see, on my return. From Maryland I again re-crossed the Potomac, at Hoe's-Ferry, into Virginia. I had also promised Mr. Coulston, who left me at the Springs, that I would not pass through the Northern-Neck without waiting upon him. With him I spent a few days and by him was introduced to several of his respectable friends and relations, the late Rhodam Kenner, Esq. and the present Colonel Peachy I remember to be of the number. In Westmoreland county I remained near a fortnight, in the family of the late John Augustine Washington, Esq.<sup>25</sup> at the mouth of Nominy. By him and his very amiable lady I was treated with all that parental affection,

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<sup>23</sup> As Miss Cresap was returning home from Philadelphia, where she had been educated under Mrs. Brodeau, she made a short stay in Baltimore; accidentally hearing that a young lady of that name was in town, I originally waited upon her solely from the motive of in some measure repaying, by my attentions to a daughter of the family, the kindness and hospitality I had received from her parents and relations. But for that circumstance, it is more than probable I should never have seen her.—L. M.'s footnote.

<sup>24</sup> Now Berkeley Springs, W. Va.

<sup>25</sup> The father of the honourable Bushrod Washington, one of the judges of the supreme court of the United States, the possession of whose friendship and esteem is to me a source of pleasure.—L. M.'s footnote.

which hath endeared and ever will endear their memories to my heart. From Nominy I passed down through Northumberland to Mr. Lee's, near Chesapeake. In that neighbourhood I had the pleasure of finding an old acquaintance, Doctor Armstrong, who had been for some time a fellow student and class mate of mine at Princeton college. He was the son of General Armstrong, formerly of Pennsylvania, so celebrated for his bravery in the Indian wars, particularly against the Indian Captain Jacob. At Mr. Lee's, and occasionally, with Doctor Armstrong, by whom I was also introduced to all their respectable friends, I remained two or three weeks, until a boat was ready to sail, bound to the Eastern-Shore of Virginia, of which I availed myself, and returned to my former home about six months after I had left it; than which, perhaps, no six months of my life ever bestowed upon me more pure and rational pleasure while passing—or when past, on reflection.

On my return, I found that events had during my absence, taken place, which totally changed my plan, and have given, to a great degree, a colour to the subsequent part of my life. Almost immediately after I had left the Eastern Shore, John Murray, Esq. son of Captain Murray of Somerset county, a lawyer of most promising talents, who practised in Somerset and Worcester counties, on his passage from Cambridge to Annapolis, lost his life by the boat's oversetting and filling. And before I returned George Handy, Esq. a lawyer of great respectability was dead and Littleton Dennis, Esq. the very worthy and respectable father of the member for congress of that name, who was most eminent in his profession, was dead or dying; both these gentlemen practised in Somerset and Worcester counties, and the last of them had practised in Accomack.

The death of those three gentlemen, had made so great a change, and had left so fair a field for the exertion of legal abilities, that I suffered myself to be, by a few sanguine, partial friends, flattered into the hope, that I might enter thereon with some prospect of success!

I immediately commenced the practice of law in Accomack and Northampton, in Virginia, where the county courts were held monthly and at the next ensuing November courts of Somerset and Worcester, where the courts were held four times a year, I applied, and was admitted as an attorney.

From that time I made my residence in Somerset and regularly attended the courts of those four counties, until the interruption of business, which took place in the early part of the revolution. At the time of that interruption my practice had become, nearly or quite, equal to a thousand pounds a year, with every prospect of encrease. The revolutionary measures, then thought necessary to be adopted, and which received my assent, not only in a great degree, cut me off from future business, but also deprived me of the benefits arising from the suits, in which I was then employed, by putting a stop to the completion of those suits. From that period, until the courts of justice were again opened, I was engaged in a variety of pursuits, some professional, and some of a different nature.



I was occasionally employed in cases of admiralty jurisdiction—and in one or two important appeals to the congress of the United States.<sup>26</sup> Soon as a court was established at Williamsburgh for criminal business, which was much sooner than they were organized for suits of a civil nature, I was the constant attendant on that court; and devoting my time and attention to the criminal law, for the purpose of enabling me the better to defend those, who were accused; which I did most successfully; <sup>27</sup> I thereby acquired all that knowledge and information, which rendered me able the more effectually to prosecute and convict those, who were guilty of crimes, when it became my duty to become their prosecutor.

In the intermediate time and immediately after, having entered on the practice of the law, I became a resident of Somerset, the trustees of Back-Creek school, who were among the most respectable gentlemen in that county, chose me without my solicitation, to fill a vacancy which happened in their number. And in the autumn of the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy-four, while attending the courts in Virginia, I was by that portion of the inhabitants of Somerset, who approved the opposition to the claims of Great Britain, in my absence and without being consulted elected, not only a member of the committee for the country; but also one of their representatives to the convention, which was held at Annapolis in the month of December following; which convention I attended.

My firm and decided support of the opposition to the unwarrantable claims of Great-Britain, which caused our revolution, is well known, and that at a time when, and in a place where, it indeed "tried men's souls"—for there was a period of considerable duration, throughout which, not only myself, but many others, acting in the same manner, did not lay down one night on their beds, without the hazard of waking on board a British armed ship, or in the other world. Notwithstanding which I can say without fear of contradiction, my conduct to those, whom, from the political state of the country, I was obliged to counteract and oppose, was so free from any thing like wanton insult, personal enmity, rancour or malignity, that instead of finding at this period a personal enemy in their number, I received from them proofs of esteem and regard.

When the Howes were on their way to the Chesapeak, they published a manifesto or proclamation particularly addressed to the inhabitants on that part of the United States against which they were then directing their

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<sup>26</sup> Particularly in one for James Ingram, Esq. of Williamsburgh—son of the once provost of Glasgow college, in which I not only procured him, upon the appeal to congress, a decree for the restitution of his property, but afterwards attended court with him at Williamsburgh and saw it restored to him.—L. M.'s footnote.

<sup>27</sup> To the best of my recollection, I was counsel at that court for thirty criminals, of whom twenty-nine were acquitted—the thirtieth charged with murder was convicted of manslaughter. I also procured the judgment to be arrested in the case of captain Davis, who had once been the servant of General Washington, and who was by the jury found guilty of treason.—L. M.'s footnote.



operations. The answer to which address directed to the Howes, as also an address <sup>28</sup> to the inhabitants of the Peninsula between Delaware River Bay and the Chesapeake to the southward of the British lines, and distributed among them in hand-bills, were from my pen.

On the eleventh day of February in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and seventy eight, is dated the commission by which I have holden to this time the office of Attorney-General of this state. The express, by which it was sent, found me in Accomack, very busily engaged in directions to artificers, who were employed in the erection of works for manufacturing salt,—So little did I expect to receive that appointment;—which was bestowed upon me without solicitation.

I qualified as Attorney-General in the criminal court of Baltimore county, on the twentieth day of May in the same year, and almost immediately after moved to Baltimore-Town, in which or its vicinity I have ever since resided.

From the time I left Queen-Ann until my arrival in Baltimore, I found in the worthy and hospitable Levin Gale, Esq. and his highly esteemed and respectable lady, kind and affectionate parents; and scarce ever did a young man, perhaps, receive with more delight a proof of esteem and confidence more dear to his heart, than when they placed under my care, to be instructed in the law, their eldest son a few years younger than myself—that son who at this time lives in Cecil county, and is in the number of my friends, and, who has with honour served both this state and the United States in the most respectable appointments they could bestow upon him.

One of the first acts I did after I received my commission was to send a letter to Robert Wright, Esq. who had just entered into the practice of the law, requesting him to inform me in what counties he attended, and whether it would be agreeable to him to accept deputations from me to prosecute in those courts: in consequence of his answer, I appointed him my deputy for the counties of Kent, Queen-Ann, and Talbot. His respectable father, who was afterwards one of the Judges of our court of appeals, did me the honour to accept a deputation for Caroline county.

Be this a proof whether my heart is formed for ingratitude or likely in the hour of prosperity to forget those who, in the day of adversity had shown to me civilities and kindness, much less those, had any such been, who should have, to their loss or expence, conferred on me great and essential services. Be this also a proof whether while I lived in Queen-Ann my conduct was ever such as ought to have excited a blush in my cheeks or the cheeks of my friends, or whether I left Queen-Ann on account of any such conduct. Nay more, whether the conduct was of such a nature that, even to "state" it should cause a blush on the bronze face of ----- I need no term of reproach other than that of Richard Raynall Keene, Esquire.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> This was published in Dunlap's Maryland Gazette of September 9, 1777. The other was published in Goddard's paper about the same time.—L. M.'s footnote.

<sup>29</sup> "I blush to state the cause." Page 50 of Keene's Letter to Luther Martin, Esq.—L. M.'s footnote.

Had such been my conduct, had I left Queen-Ann dishonored or disgraced would gentlemen of such respectability of character, with full knowledge of the fact, thus sanction my appointment to so an important an office, by being the first to receive appointments under me! !

Would the honourable Mr. Leeds have given me those proofs of his friendship and esteem, had infamy attached to me while in Queen-Ann,—nay, should I have been admitted into the number of his acquaintance,—and can it be believed that living at so short a distance, he should have remained all that time in ignorance of my conduct had any part of it warranted the base insinuation. . . .<sup>30</sup>

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*Want Water, Prince George's Co.*—Marylanders will be pleased to learn that "Want Water" will not go the way of "Barnaby Manor" and so many of the State's other distinguished buildings no longer in existence. Mr. and Mrs. Charles Wallace Collins of "Harmony Hall" are restoring the old house which has crowded the bank of Wide Water Cove in the Broad Creek area of Prince George's County since the 1704-1708 era. Building activity has recently been started and it is believed that its panelling which Dr. Henry Chandlee Forman described as "rich . . . in ruinous condition" can be saved, for the most part. Most references treat of the old Lyles (and Addison) House and the *Historic American Building Survey* editors found sufficient interest here that its floor plan forms one of the three illustrations in the Maryland section of the Catalog. On completion, the "Harmony Hall" estate will possess an unusual combination of three distinct examples of Colonial architecture: the mansion house of brick; "Want Water," of brick ends and frame sides; and the "Old House near Harmony Hall," all frame. Nearby St. John's Church (1723) contributes to a remarkable grouping of early Maryland within the shadow of the Nation's Capital.

JAMES C. WILFONG, JR.,  
725 13th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

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*Gannt-Cole*—Can someone tell me the marriage place and date of Polly Cole to Charles Gantt of Calvert Co.; also her date of birth and death. Gantt, born 1773, was son of Thomas Gantt 4th and Susanna Mackall. After death of his first wife Mary Parron he married Polly Cole between 1810 and 1820. There were two daughters by this marriage: Mary Gantt who married John Tweedal of Baltimore and Eliza Ann Gantt who married John Wood of Calvert Co.

Mrs. JOSEPH LEITER, 3rd,  
5406 Willomere Way, Baltimore 12.

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<sup>30</sup> A few liberties have been taken with Martin's punctuation, especially in the elimination of scores of dashes that pepper the original.—*Ed.*

*Lloyd*—Will appreciate any information regarding ancestry of Wm. Lloyd (Jr. ?), born March 24, 1800, died 1883, and his wife, Esther Mezick-Messick. Both born in Delaware, died in Maryland.

Mrs. JAMES W. ROGERS, JR.,  
5012 56th Place, Rogers Heights, Hyattsville.

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*Thompson*—Information wanted regarding place of burial of John Thompson who was born Oct., 1777, at Berwick-on-Tweed, Scotland. He arrived in Baltimore, 1842, died 1856, resided in the city at the time of his death. He was a member of Baltimore St. Andrews Society. He was father of Jean Kerr Thompson Duval, wife of Dr. Wm. W. Duval of "Goodwood," Prince George's Co.

Mrs. HUGH P. LECLAIR,  
Friendship, Anne Arundel Co., Md.

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#### CONTRIBUTORS

GOVERNOR MCKELDIN, a member of our Society, has on many occasions demonstrated a profound interest in the history of Maryland and the Nation. ☆ MRS. PEABODY contributes in this issue the final selection of Governor Lee letters. ☆ The scholarly activities of DR. GORDON are well known in Maryland. ☆ MR. MARYE is a noted local historian and an officer of the Society.

*50th Year of Publication*

# MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE



Bloomingdale, or Mount Mill, Queen Anne's County

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

BALTIMORE

*September · 1955*



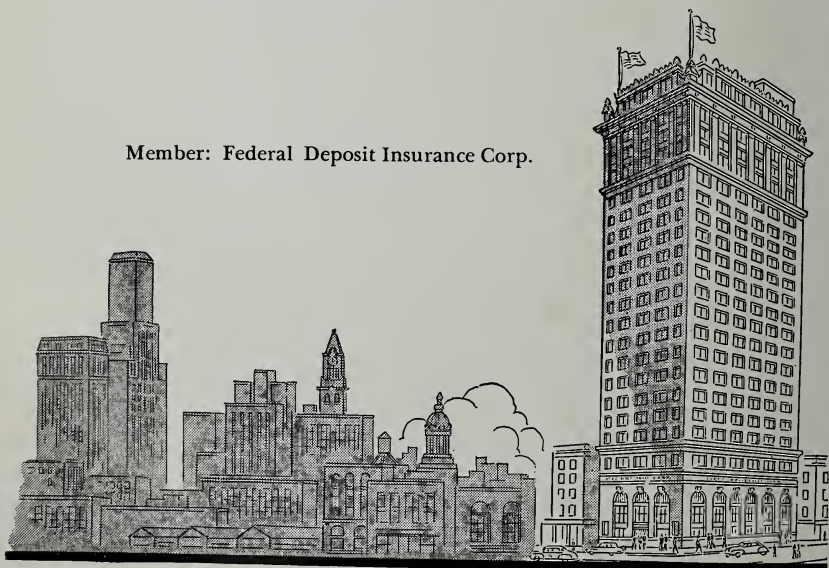
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For the gift of objects, books and papers, far too numerous to list here, which have been received in the century and more since it was founded, the Society records this expression of its lasting gratitude. These contributions from countless members and friends have made the Society a major storehouse of state and national treasures.

# MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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SEPTEMBER, 1955

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FRED SHELLEY, Editor

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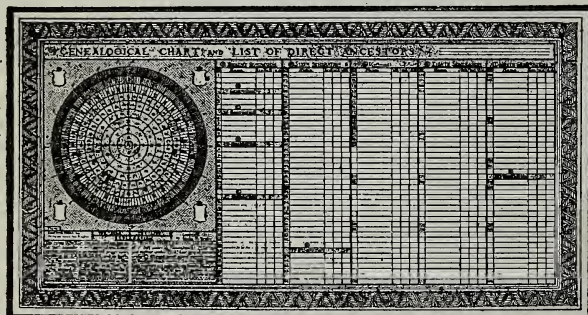
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# MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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## SAMUEL KNOX, MARYLAND EDUCATOR

By ASHLEY FOSTER

SAMUEL KNOX (1756-1832) was a pamphleteer, parson, and pedagogue who propagandized for a specific technique and shape of educative process for his own time.<sup>1</sup> Before his contribution to his America can be evaluated, we must, briefly, accord him his place in the larger scheme of things so that his specific recommendations achieve an historical meaning in a proper frame of reference.

At the conclusion of the Revolutionary War, when the hands of the American man returned to his plough, his mind turned to thoughts on the means to make real the abstractions of the Declaration of Independence—the abstractions for which the War had been fought.

<sup>1</sup> There is no life of Knox. See *Dictionary of American Biography*, X, 480-481; B. C. Steiner, *History of Education in Maryland* (Washington, 1894), pp. 43-49, 245-247; "Additional Information Upon Rev. Samuel Knox," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, II (1907), 285-286; and Steiner, "More About Samuel Knox," *ibid.* (1909), 276-279. See also this author's "An 1803 Proposal to Improve the American Teaching Profession," *School and Society*, 80 (Sept. 4, 1954), 69-73.



In general, wars are not at all conducive to the development of public schools, and the American Revolution was no exception. The decline of public schools had reached the pathetic extreme that, it was said, a traveler to that citadel of public education would have found Boston, in 1794, virtually without public schools. Its seven public schools, then, led a poorly housed and pathetic existence and the presence of double that number of private schools indicated that, somehow, the fruits of the law of 1647 had failed to mature.<sup>2</sup>

In order for America to fulfill the promises inherent in the Declaration of Independence, the intellectual and cultural leaders of this country began to seek for plans to educate Americans since, they recognized, an educated electorate was necessary if the newly-founded republic was to succeed. Illiteracy and ignorance could not be reconciled with democratic processes. Thomas Jefferson and others often opined that the people could make correct decisions if they were given the facts. But he and others knew that some background of elementary knowledge, at least, was necessary so that the given facts might be reasonably analyzed. John Adams put it this way:

... A better system of education for the common people might preserve them long from such artificial inequalities as are prejudicial to society, by confounding the natural distinctions of right and wrong, virtue and vice.<sup>3</sup>

In the search for solutions to the many problems related to life in America, the American Philosophical Society Held at Philadelphia for Promoting Useful Knowledge—consistent with the practice of the European learned societies—initiated a series of essay contests of which, in one case, the object was to seek "An essay on the best system of liberal education, adapted to the genius of the government of the United States. Comprehending, also, an uniform, general plan for instituting and conducting public schools, in this country, on principles of the most extensive

<sup>2</sup> J. A. Krout and D. R. Fox, *The Completion of Independence, 1790-1830* (New York, 1944), p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> John Adams to Count Sarsfield, Feb. 3, 1786, C. F. Adams (ed.), *The Works of John Adams* (Boston, 1850-1856), IX, 546. See also Thomas Jefferson to George Wythe, Aug. 13, 1786, Julian P. Boyd (ed.), *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* (Princeton, 1950- ), X, 245.

utility. . . ."<sup>4</sup> This contest was well publicized and tapped the springs of American intellectual thought on the subject of public education.

In recording the society's opinions of the essays offered to the American Philosophical Society, the secretary of that organization, which was then headed by Thomas Jefferson, remarked that

Although none of the Systems of Education then under review appeared to them so well adapted to the present state of Society in this country, as could be wished; yet considering the superior merit of two of the performances, the one entitled "An Essay on Education"; the other, "Remarks on Education: Illustrating the close connection between Virtue and wisdom: to which is annexed, a system of liberal Education"; the Society adjudged to each of the authors a premium of 50 dollars, and ordered the Essays to be published. On opening the sealed letters accompanying these performances, it appeared that the former was written by the Rev. SAMUEL KNOX of Bladensburg, Maryland; and the latter by SAMUEL H. SMITH of Philadelphia.

The educational views of Samuel Knox—published in a pamphlet, *An Essay on the Best System of Liberal Education*—are of interest to us, today, because they represent an epitome of the educational thought of his time. In the State of Maryland, this essay represented the first work on pedagogy printed within its borders.<sup>5</sup>

Little is known of the ancestry and the first thirty years in the life of Samuel Knox, and the available family records are somewhat scant and inconclusive. He was the eldest son of a farmer, also named Samuel; in later years he referred to himself as the son of a poor farmer. He was born in Armagh parish in County Armagh in 1756; studied in Dublin; married his cousin Grace Gilmour; and had four daughters by her before he left Ireland. A reference to Samuel Knox in the minutes of the Ulster Synod is the only extant contemporary allusion to him during this period. His family records offer scant and sometimes unreliable informa-

<sup>4</sup> *Early Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society for the Promotion of Useful Knowledge, 1744-1838* (Philadelphia, 1884), pp. 228-229.

<sup>5</sup> Printed in Baltimore in 1799 by Warner and Hanna (Evans 35690); hereafter *Essay on Education*.

It is worth note that, in addition to laws passed by the General Assembly, an unknown writer proposed in 1732 the founding of a college in Annapolis. The proposals represent serious thought on the problem of public education, but unfortunately nothing appears to have come of them. See Steiner, *History of Education*, pp. 26-28.

tion. There is no way of knowing whether Samuel Knox emigrated from Ireland with or without his family. His wife remains unchronicled until her death on November 11, 1812, reported in the Baltimore *American*, November 13.

The first record that we have of Samuel Knox in America is as an instructor at the grammar school in Bladensburg. This record is provided by numerous examples of poetry which appear in the *Maryland Gazette and Baltimore Advertiser* for the period from 1786 to 1789. More examples of Samuel Knox's poetry appear in the *American Museum*, the magazine which its editor, Matthew Carey, hoped would become the repository of contemporary intellectual life in America. One poem, written by Samuel Knox and submitted by a certain Mr. Ponsonby, enacting the role of proud parent, gives us some idea of a contemporary educational practice. At the examination time, when the trustees gathered to ascertain the quantity and the quality of the education proffered the students, the children would each recite a stanza of a poem composed, for this occasion, by Samuel Knox. One such poem, an *Ode to Education*, was a tribute in eight stanzas which had eight pupils, each, memorize a stanza. Thus eight students delivered the tribute to education which concluded with the admonition to

Let learned LOCKE instruct the human mind  
 Through each ideal labyrinth to steer,  
 With pious WATT, to virtue be inclined  
 Enslav'd by no enthusiastic fear.  
 Ne'er let the ranting bigot's frantic strain  
 Blind or bewilder reason's radiant ray—  
 The freeborn soul rejects with just disdain  
 Old cloyster'd superstition's stupid sway.  
 Yet if affliction's wounded heart thou'dst heal  
 Regard religion with a christian care,  
 And more revere an honest HERVEY's zeal  
 Than all the wit of infidel VOLTAIRE.  
 Ne'er warp'd in metaphysic maze, presume  
 On sceptic principles with haughty HUME;  
 But with a BEATTIE's zeal, defend the truth—  
 This comforts age—restrains licentious youth—  
 Inspires the soul when worldly joys decay,  
 With hopes of heav'n to close life's final day—

Exalts her pow'rs, transporting thought! to gaze  
Where knowledge shines in one eternal blaze.<sup>6</sup>

In 1789, at the age of thirty-three, Samuel Knox decided to return to Europe for the M. A. degree. He matriculated that year at the University of Glasgow and gained the reputation for being a faithful and diligent scholar. In the first year of his university course, he won prizes for his translations of Aristophanes and some Latin compositions. In his second year he maintained this diligent scholarship. On April 10, 1792, Samuel Knox received his M. A. degree. Later that year he made his way to Belfast where, on June 25, 1793, the "Belfast Presbytery report that they have licensed Mr. Samuel Knox who subscribed to the W[estminster] Conf[ession] of Faith":<sup>7</sup> Licensed in Ireland, Samuel Knox was pastor, for about a year, of a church in Belfast. He returned to the United States in March of 1795 and on April 29, 1795, presented his credentials to the Presbytery of Baltimore. At the request of the congregation, he was appointed as supply minister to Bladensburg.<sup>8</sup> By November 15, 1795, he was ordained to the ministry and installed as a pastor.<sup>9</sup> By April, 1797, he applied to the Presbytery "for leave to resign his pastoral charge on account of reasons which he hoped would appear satisfactory." This request was granted and, on May 3, he left the pulpit of Bladensburg after having first prepared for the future by applying for and obtaining the principalship of the newly-founded Frederick Academy in Western Maryland.

During his residence at Bladensburg, Samuel Knox composed his *Essay on Education* in response to the essay contest of the American Philosophical Society. In this essay, he set out to present "an entire, general, uniform, national plan, accomodated not only to future improvement in the sciences, but also preserving what hath already been so liberally done in behalf of public education by the United States of America." Prefaced to the essay was an appeal addressed to the legislature of Maryland written when Knox was principal of the Frederick Academy.

This appeal sought legislative support of the academy system of secondary education that was then prevalent in the United

<sup>6</sup> "Ode to Education," *American Museum or Repository*, V, 406-408.

<sup>7</sup> *Record of the General Synod of Ulster*, III, 152.

<sup>8</sup> *Minutes of the Baltimore Presbytery* (unpublished), Vol. I, p. 74.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 82.



States. Knox, as a practical educator, was acutely aware of the fact that the legislative subsidy to colleges in Maryland would be wasted if the legislature were not to assure an adequate supply of college material by supporting the college "nurseries," *i. e.*, the academies. This appeal proved to be quite effective: the subsidies were partially withdrawn from the colleges and the funds were used to subsidize several academies in Maryland including the one at Fredericktown.

The prize-winning *Essay on Education* was unique in that its scope and subject matter had seldom before been handled so comprehensively in America. The essay was written in eleven sections divided as follows:

1. A definition of education.
2. The comparative merits of public education as against private education.
3. The importance of establishing a national system of education.
4. The extent of a national system of education.
5. The advantages of the same uniform system of school books in a national system of education.
6. The establishment and conduct of the primary schools.
7. The establishment and conduct of the county academies.
8. Exercises of amusement during terms of relaxation.
9. The State Colleges.
10. A National University.
11. Conclusion.

The idea, briefly, was a national system of education with a primary school in every town, an academy in every county, a college in every state and a national university.

First, education was defined as "the training up of the human mind by the aquisition of sciences calculated to extend its knowledge and promote its improvement."<sup>10</sup> Without education, said Knox, men would "degenerate to a state of deplorable ignorance." Indeed, it was

. . . the design of a liberal course of education to call all the latent powers of the human mind, to give exertion to natural genius, to direct the powers of the taste and criticism, and refine and polish, as well as exercise, strengthen and direct the whole economy of the mental system.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> *Essay on Education*, p. 49.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 52.

Then a comparison of public and private education distinctly emphasized the advantages of the public school. Human progress, Knox felt, went hand in hand with public education. "Throughout history nations have supported public education in proportion to their improvement in the arts of civilization and refinement."<sup>12</sup> Other advantages of a system of public education were that the group situation would arouse greater pupil effort through the stimulation of competitive desires; the communal association of all classes of society would prevent a man from becoming conceited; and public education could also correct the situation wherein the "poor and such as most wanted literary education have been left almost totally neglected." Indeed, heretofore the few

. . . whom wealth and leisure enabled, might drink deep of the Pierian spring, while the diffusion of its salutary streams through every department of the Commonwealth has been either neglected or considered as of inferior importance.<sup>13</sup>

The children of both the rich and the poor, alike, were to receive an education. The education of the latter, however, was to be increasingly selective with the ascent of the academic ladder; thus of the nation's poor children, only the most talented would receive a free public-supported university education. To prevent economic wastage, however, Knox proposed that these talented poor children who had received something less than a university education at public expense, be utilized as a source of well educated teachers.

The major difficulty in the way of a uniform system of education in the United States was the "wide extent of territory, inhabited by citizens blending together almost all the various manners and customs of every country in Europe." But wasn't this just another sign of the importance of the task ahead? Nothing but a "uniform system of national education" would have "a better effect toward harmonizing the whole," that is, uniting the United States, in the "combined cause of public virtue and literary improvement."

The curriculum of the national system should neglect neither the arts nor the sciences. While Knox would include "those sciences that tend to enlarge the sphere of worldly interest and

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 59.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 68.

prosperity, and without which the various and complicated business of human life cannot be transacted," he also warned against making education too utilitarian. Education was not to be "the hand maid of industry," no indeed, since the "seminaries of learning are the salutary springs of society." The national education "should be adapted to youth in general, whether they be intended for civil or commercial life, or for the learned professions." On the principle of the separation of the church and the state, theology was to be excluded from public education. The existence of the various denominations in America would have made theology a difficult subject to teach. To the denominations, however fell the task of training their own candidates for the ministry.

The national system of education which was proposed by Samuel Knox is, essentially, a national extension of and resembles closely the Virginia Bill for the General Diffusion of Knowledge that was unsuccessfully sponsored by Thomas Jefferson in 1779. This is not to suggest plagiarism but, merely, to point out that this type of plan was in vogue during the critical years of this country's history. The educational structure of the nation was to be under the control of a National Board of Education. The pyramidal educational framework was based upon a primary school to each parish, an academy in each county and a college in each state. Knox's education scheme was topped by the idea of a National University to be located near the capital city. The teachers in this national scheme were to be well paid, given comfortable living quarters and, when deserving, be promoted up the academical ladder so that the lowly parish instructor could, perhaps, look forward to an eventual professorship at the National University.

One of the handicaps faced by many teachers during the early years of this country's development was a shortage of uniform textbooks. Children in the same classroom often had a wide miscellany of textbooks which created many pedagogical problems. Under Samuel Knox's system of education, the schools were to have one uniform system of books that were to be printed by a state printer under the direction of the National Board of Education; a system that is not unlike the system in many states, today. The National University, not under state control, was the exception to this uniformity and was allowed its own printer.

For college entrance, Knox required, first, that all applicants

... should have previously gone through the course of education prescribed by the primary school and county academy, or if instructed by private tuition, that their progress should be equal to and on the same plan with such as were taught at those seminaries.

Secondly, That none educated either publicly or privately should be admitted but such as on publick examination should give satisfaction, both in their classical and mathematical proficiency.

Thirdly. That all students in the State college should at least be intended for a triennial course, which, as nearly as possible, ought to be from the close of the fifteenth till the expiration of the eighteenth year of their age.<sup>14</sup>

The collegiate education proffered by Samuel Knox was, basically, a modified classical liberal arts program. Knox insisted, for example, that much more time be spent in vacations and relaxation than many of the colleges of his time permitted. Taking a somewhat pragmatic view, he felt "that the students in the State colleges should have time to mix a little in society, see their friends, and know something of the world, as well as books."

The keystone to Samuel Knox's educational arch is the University of the United States. He felt very strongly that a "great, extensive and enlightened commonwealth" could not find a better cause in which to exhibit "even to some degree of excess, its munificence than in founding, endowing, and supporting a suitable seat of national improvement in literature and erudition." This was even more important than attention to the economic aspects of our nation's development since, as he put it, the "mental powers of man" are "superior to mere bodily emdowments and the means of pampering these."

The National University, which was to be placed at the head "of a system of national education" would be connected

... with every branch or seminary of the general system, would tend not only to finish or consummate the whole literary course, but also to confer upon it that national dignity and importance which such a combination of public patronage and interest would justly expect and merit. It would thus constitute the fountain head of science, that center to which all the literary genius of the Commonwealth would tend; and from which, when matured by its instructive influence, would diffuse the rays of knowledge and science to the remotest situations of the United government.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 138-39.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 149.



This in brief was the plan whereby Samuel Knox hoped to educate and unify the people of the United States. For his system of education he claimed that "under proper patronage and the direction of a well chosen literary board it would amply provide for the proper instruction of youth in every possible circumstance of life, and also for any particular business or profession."

Knox considered that the most important features of this system were an "incorporated board of [state] presidents of education" to superintend this plan and develop the details necessary for its effective functioning, the institution of the state printer for an adequate supply of uniform textbooks and the uniformity of the plan which would produce "not only harmony of sentiments, unity of taste and manners, but also the patriotic principles of genuine Federalism among the scattered and variegated citizens of this extensive Republic," and the education of the deserving poor at public expense. He also pointed to the unusual attention which he had given to mathematics and the physical sciences in his curriculum.

In summary then, the *Essay on Education*, his outstanding work, proposed a uniform system of education to be graded from the elementary school through to the National University; parish schools, county academies, state colleges, and a single National University were to constitute the national school system. The children of the rich and the poor were to receive an education although the education of the poor was to be increasingly selective with the ascent on the academic ladder. Knox's comprehensive scheme anticipated future developments in education by its proposal of a uniform graded system, a standardized curriculum and textbooks and a non-denominational approach to religion in the public school.

While he was principal of the Frederick Academy, Knox had occasion to deliver *A funeral oration commemorative of the illustrious virtues of the great and good General Washington . . .* on the occasion of Washington's birthday, February 22, 1800, just a few months after the death of the first President. This oration reflected the post-mortem popular deification of Washington and Knox spoke of Washington only in terms of unbounded praise. He told his parishioners that

. . . the effusive tribute of sorrow this day shed by the Assembled millions

of this extensive Country, while it gratifies the spontaneous dictates of our own hearts, will transmit to latest posterity an illustrious testimony how far republican gratitude transcends the ostentatious blazonry of all the vain funereal pomp in which the useless hereditary despot is consigned to dust and oblivion.<sup>16</sup>

After comparing Washington with the heroes of Hellenic civilization to the greater glory of Mount Vernon, Knox found that Washington had embodied "all that was great and good, glorious, excellent or praiseworthy" in mankind. Washington, himself, might well have blushed at the extravagance of such a tribute:

The Genius of a FRANKLIN, and especially the age that could give scope to such a genius, were probably as necessary in their sphere, for the establishment of that civil Liberty and Independence which America now enjoys, as the sublime talents of a WASHINGTON. What the immortal NEWTON, or FRANKLIN, was to philosophy, the immortal WASHINGTON was to the cause of civil liberty.<sup>17</sup>

and at its companion epitaph, a faltering but rhapsodic couplet:

When Tyranny was to be hurl'd from Earth—  
GOD to our glorious WASHINGTON gave birth.<sup>18</sup>

Knox then turned to his own special interest and spoke of the national university scheme with which Washington had "occupied his last and precious moments" and which were a part of his "last and most earnest recommendations" to his country. Washington, he went on to say, looked forward to

. . . the institution of such a dignified national seminary as was best suited to the genius of our constitution; and equally calculated to promote union and harmony of sentiment, as to diffuse the enlightening influence of Science to the remotest corners of his country.<sup>19</sup>

Congress had failed to act upon his presidential recommendation and in breaking faith with Washington, had earned for itself the severe censure of Samuel Knox!

Should it not be then a subject of sincere regret to the public, that his noble design was not more regarded and not more warmly seconded than it appears to have been by those entrusted with the highest interests

<sup>16</sup> (Frederick, Mathias Bartgis, 1800), p. 3. (Minnick 594.)

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11,

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

of the UNION? Alas! When will that happy period arrive, when, even in the purest Republic, no object, in peace or in war, shall be more liberally patronized and prompted than an ample provision for the general means of intellectual improvement? <sup>20</sup>

The emotional unity that was achieved throughout the land on that day was destined, however, to be short lived. Later in the same year and in the years that followed, the nation and the many small communities like Frederick which comprised it, were to be turbulently torn apart by the impact of partisan politics.

At this time, however, under the guidance of Samuel Knox, the Frederick Academy prospered and maintained high standards. In a report of a legislative committee dated November 26, 1799, it was stated that

. . . from the well-established character of the principal and tutors in said academy and the attention of the visitors and directors in the management of the same, your committee are led to conclude that Frederick Academy aided by the fostering hand of the legislature, will be rivalled in usefulness by no academy in the State.

These bright prospects were clouded, however, by Knox's predilection for involving himself in political disputes. Because he was able to successfully oppose the anti-Jefferson electioneering of the well-known Federalist minister, the Rev. Jedediah Morse, at the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in May, 1800, Knox was to claim many years later that "I have been the victim of Party persecution." It was to this clash that Knox attributed his subsequent difficulties. One is forced to surmise, however, that Knox had the unfortunate habit throughout his life of falling into bad odor with his congregation or the general public because of his somewhat tactless espousal of his political and educational causes.<sup>21</sup>

By 1802 the Fredericktown papers indicated that a bitter political controversy was raging. Charges and innuendos bordering on the libelous were made against Samuel Knox. The *Fredericktown Herald*, a Federalist paper, carried on an anti-Knox polemic which was too scorching to be mere yellow journalism.

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<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>21</sup> He was the anonymous author of a pro-Jefferson tract which sought to differentiate Jefferson's political from his religious views as well as to castigate the extreme Federalists who had referred to Jefferson as "Godless" and "anti-Christ": *A Vindication of the Religion of Mr. Jefferson* . . . (Baltimore, W. Pechin, 1800). (Minnick 588.)

We will not, Mr. Knox, call you a VIPER, we will not call you BASE, nor will we call you a CALUMNIATOR and SLANDERER. . . . But Sir, it is not every man on whom we refrain from bestowing these epithets, that we think undeserving of them, or even of harsher terms of reproach. Neither do we found our sentiments solely upon 'the finger of public opinion.' If we followed that index, our attention might be turned to scenes at Bladensburg. But we stand on stronger ground. A slanderous reflection upon a whole denomination of Christians is not yet forgotten. Nor is the congregation unknown, who have been forced to dismiss their clergyman, or listen to a man they despised. Nor are we ignorant of what has been done nearer *home*.

A decided difference in political as well as educational opinions evoked this and similar attacks and Samuel Knox, a vocal member of what was, probably, a slender Republican minority within his congregation was only somewhat less inflammatory in his responses.<sup>22</sup> His lack of reticence, rightly or wrongly, operated to make him, at best, a controversial figure. It is, at any rate, refreshing in this age of cautious and circumspect pedagogy to run across an educator who had no qualms about committing himself on an issue larger than the syntax of a Latin sentence.

The newspaper controversy raged on with *Bartgis' Republican Gazette* as the vehicle for Knox's responses. He was accused, for example, of carrying on a vociferous political debate within ear-shot of Governor Benjamin Ogle's sick wife; of an alleged misuse of the word "condescension"; of improper instruction, etc., and each accusation provided occasion for further insults and innuendoes; Knox cannot bully the public as he does his own family, etc. Knox's answers, frequently arrogant and haughtily pedantic took pleasure and joy in pulling apart the *Fredericktown Herald* as a little boy might the wings of a fly. Insults and allegations flew fast and furiously, so much so, in fact, that legitimate charges and grievances were never aired. Nevertheless, this friction finally entailed more than a mere clash of personalities; Knox was attacked as an educator and, although the charges were proven to be untrue, he was finally forced to leave Frederick under a cloud. As he recorded many years later in a letter to his political idol, Thomas Jefferson:

On the same Acct. a hostile spirit was taken up against me by the

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<sup>22</sup> Politically, Frederick was a Republican town in both 1800 and 1802.



Trustees of the Fredericktown Academy, at the same time under my direction. The Messrs. Potts and other highly Fed'l gentlemen of the place removed their sons and placed them at Princeton College—Assigning as their motive that they had been improperly instructed by me. To counteract a procedure so groundless and malignant, I was forced to send an Address to the Faculty of Princeton College requesting in the most earnest manner an examination on the youth from Fredericktown—and the favour of a certificate of the manner in which they had acquitted themselves on that Examination, on being admitted to their college. The result was very flattering to me—I received a certificate, which the circumstances mentioned induced me to publish, that no youth had ever entered that college, who had done more credit to themselves, or to their instructor.

That, however, and the desire of being disconnected from such patrons of public Education—and parents who could so treat the instructor of their sons, soon afterwards induced me to resign the charge of that Institution, at which I had previously a greater number of students from the different counties of Maryland—and some from adjacent counties in Virginia than was at that time in the state college at Annapolis tho' endowed with an annuity of seventeen hundred pounds—and conducted by a faculty of considerable reputation as to literary acquirements.<sup>23</sup>

By October, 1803, Knox was forced to resign his position as the head of the Fredericktown Academy and he moved to Baltimore.

Before moving, however, Knox recorded some thoughts on education in which he proposed a Schoolmasters' College. In this essay he proposed to raise the educational standards for the teaching profession and, in addition, to make teaching a financially secure profession. In this respect he once again anticipated the general educational thinking of his time. Few people, if any, in the America of 1803, made concrete suggestions that were designed to elevate the position of the teacher as well as the pedagogical standards of America.<sup>24</sup>

During the years at Baltimore, Knox preached supply at Soldier's Delight and also ran a private school. In 1808 he joined forces with another school headed by Rev. William Sinclair and, subsequently, this amalgamated school was made the Baltimore College. As one alumnus reminisced:

. . . this union with Knox was made with a view to carrying the two academies into the college, which was accordingly organized under the

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<sup>23</sup> Knox to Jefferson, November 30, 1818.

<sup>24</sup> *An Essay of the Means of Improving Public Education, Adapted to the United States* (Frederick, John B. Colvin, 1803). (Bristol 196.)

direction of a board of trustees, with Knox as president and Sinclair as vice-president. The college buildings were provided for by the grant of a lottery, and were erected nearby opposite the Cathedral. I think it was about 1810 when these buildings were finished for our reception. In the mean time, that is for two years, we assembled in Knox's Academy rooms, in what was then called Chatham Street, now Fayette Street, at the corner of McClellan's Alley.<sup>25</sup>

On December 31, 1807, just prior to the merger of the two academies, Knox appealed unsuccessfully to the Maryland Legislature for financial support. Knox's second appeal, this time for the support of higher education in general and the proposed Baltimore College in particular, was completely rejected.<sup>26</sup>

The only personal description that we have of the Samuel Knox of this period presents us with a distinctly unflattering picture. John Pendleton Kennedy, characterized by V. L. Parrington as one of the most attractive figures of his generation, found college life under Knox considerably less stimulating than reading *Tristram Shandy*. He described the schoolmaster as

. . . an Irish Presbyterian clergyman,—a large, coarse, austere man with an offensive despotism in his character which not only repelled all love, but begat universal fear and dislike among the boys. He was not much of a scholar either, I should say, and was far from successful as a teacher. In fact, the boys under his charge made but little progress even in the rough work of study, and were left altogether uninstructed in those matters of taste and nice criticism which I hold to be indispensable to the object of creating a fondness for study in youthful minds. . . . But every thing with Knox seemed to be done in the most repulsive manner. We hurried through recitation before him at a gallop, saying what was set down for us, or seeming to say it, when he ran on ahead of us, unconsciously reading out the whole lesson sometimes, as if in a hurry to be done with it. He had no pleasantries, by the way, no explanation, no appeals to our own perceptions of an author's merits. Thus we measured off Virgil and Homer *by the yard*, as rapidly and as recklessly as we should have measured off so much tape.<sup>27</sup>

In Baltimore the career of Samuel Knox was to be as turbulent as it had been in Fredericktown. In 1806, for example, a tempest apparently started by Knox, raged for a few weeks and centered

<sup>25</sup> Henry T. Tuckerman, *Life of John Pendleton Kennedy*, New York, 1871), p. 44.

<sup>26</sup> *Discourse on the Present State of Education in Maryland* . . . (Baltimore, Warner and Hanna, 1808). (Bristol 644.)

<sup>27</sup> Tuckerman, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-45.

about his antagonism towards the newly-founded "Jesuitical" institution, St. Mary's College in Baltimore. In response to a laudatory letter Knox, under a *nom de plume*, attacked the college for its aristocratic tendencies. The fact that St. Mary's College catered to the political Federalists, the socially elite, galled Knox. It was indeed a bitter draught for him to see that college prosper. The bitter feud which he carried on apparently resulted in the decline of the little patronage that Baltimore College had so that, by the end of 1818, Knox was able to report that

At present, tho' Baltimore College is without funds or endowments, she maintains an existence—and tho' many Youths of considerable promise of usefulness to their country have here first stood their course of Education—and tho' a few patrons also particularly William Pinkney Esq. Late Envoy to Russia, shall afford us all their countenance, yet the Institution is unable to support itself, against such discouragement, in any proper consistency with its designation as a college.<sup>28</sup>

In general, complained Knox, Baltimore did little to support higher education.

On July 28, 1817, shortly before Baltimore College was to close its doors, while Thomas Jefferson was searching for a teaching staff for the Central College (later University) of Virginia, the visitors of the projected Virginia institution agreed

. . . that application be made to Doctor Knox, of Baltimore, to accept the Professorship of Languages, Belles Lettres, Rhetoric, History and Geography; and that an independent salary of five hundred dollars, with a perquisite of twenty-five dollars from each pupil together with chambers for his accomodation, be allowed him as a compensation for his services, he finding the necessary assistant ushers.<sup>29</sup>

Although the invitation left him the provision for an entire University, Knox does not seem to have received the offer. It appears quite certain that he would have accepted the position despite the relatively low stipend offered. On September 10, 1817, Thomas Jefferson wrote to Joseph C. Cabell that "Dr. Knox has retired from the business, and I have written to Cooper"<sup>30</sup> and the visitors of the Central College decided that "on information

<sup>28</sup> Knox to Jefferson, November 30, 1818.

<sup>29</sup> *Early History of the University of Virginia as Contained in the Letters of Thomas Jefferson and Joseph C. Cabell* (Richmond, 1856), p. 396.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 81.

that Rev. Mr. Knox, formerly thought of for a professor of languages, is withdrawn from business, the order of July the 28th is rescinded." <sup>31</sup>

Later, in 1818, Knox heard that Thomas Jefferson had expressed the wish that if Knox were not employed, a place might be found for him at the University of Virginia. Knox wrote to Jefferson on November 30, 1818, and offered himself as a candidate for a professorship at the University. By that time, however, Jefferson was no longer interested and he answered Samuel Knox in educational generalities and included no offer of a position.<sup>32</sup> This reply was discouraging and left little hope for any position in the future at the University of Virginia. About this time, early in 1819, Samuel Knox left Baltimore College and retired.

His release from the limbo of an unchronicled three year period beginning with his resignation from Baltimore College was affected by a nuptial notice published in the same Frederick paper which, two decades earlier had goaded him to dip his pen in acid. The paper had not changed hands but all seems to have been forgiven and forgotten.

m. Thursday April 18, 1822, by Rev. P. Davidson Rev. Sam'l Knox of Balt-, to Miss Zeruah McCleery of this place.<sup>33</sup>

The aging bridegroom of sixty-six took his Frederick bride, who was just half his years, to Baltimore. There they established residence and Knox once again turned his mind and efforts to matters educational.

Knox had been intrigued by the then popular educational systems of Lancaster and Bell and fascinated by the prospect of an education that was for the great mass of society.<sup>34</sup> He wished to

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 396-397.

<sup>32</sup> Jefferson to Knox, Dec. 11, 1818; this and the letter of Nov. 30 are found in the Jefferson MSS, Library of Congress.

See also H. B. Adams, *Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia* (Washington, 1888), pp. 106-107.

<sup>33</sup> *Fredericktown Herald*, April 20, p. 3, col. 3.

<sup>34</sup> For those who sought the cheapest means for the state to discharge its responsibility, it was the educational system of Joseph Lancaster that proved to be a blessing. This system, it will be recalled, centered about the utilization of a teacher-trained assistant who was usually recruited from the brighter members of the class. These students who learned a little faster than the rest of the class were pressed into service, as it were, to dispense their newly-won information to their classmates. In the usual situation each assistant handled about ten pupils. While these assistants were doing the work that is normally done by the teacher,



work out a complete system of education—from the primary school through to the college level that would receive popular support. In an attempt to outdo the Lancastrian system by applying a modification, Knox proposed another educational plan under the title of "Improvement of Public Education" whose chief claim was the dependence

. . . upon the proper use of the *printing press*; and, by a suitable apparatus enabling the instructors to extend to *many* their unremitted labours, with the same facility as to a few; and, at the same time, without resorting to the mode adopted by some other systems, of employing a portion of those to be instructed to teach their fellows—a practice suited to those only who have the misfortune to be in a state of dependence and pauperism.<sup>35</sup>

The "suitable apparatus" that Knox proposed was a rather wild Rube Goldberg sort of invention. He proposed to mass-educate some three to six hundred students by the use of an overhead crane that was not unlike the vacuum device seen in many of the larger department stores of today which is used to facilitate as well as centralize the recording of all sales. Knox wanted such a communication system between the teacher and each of his pupils in order to allow notebooks to travel between the teacher and his pupil without the necessity for either to leave his seat. The advantages claimed for this system were twofold: all the notebooks could be examined by the instructor, himself, and not left to the student assistants and, secondly, the time ordinarily lost to the instructor while the student-teachers were instructing, under the Lancastrian system, would be saved to the benefit of all pupils.

In the early part of 1823, Samuel Knox returned to Frederick and, after some twenty years of separation, once again assumed the leadership of the Frederick County Academy which, since May 4, 1813, had been run on the Lancastrian system. At this time, *i. e.*, 1823, the Academy had only a small enrollment, but there was hope that more students would arrive later that spring. The pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Fredericktown, the Reverend Patrick Davidson, was associated with Knox in the pedagogical

the teacher, himself, freed from many of his immediate concerns, could not only act in a supervisory capacity but also perform other necessary duties.

<sup>35</sup> *Niles' Weekly Register*, XI (New Series), 53, September 22, 1822.

duties of the Academy; Knox taught the classics and Davidson taught both English and mathematics. Patrick Davidson had, at one time, regarded Samuel Knox as a potential threat to his established position in the congregation. Knox recognized this insecurity and thought it his duty to ease Davidson's mind on this score and so he went to some pains to assure Davidson that he did not wish to undermine the good pastor's status or displace him within the congregation. Davidson's insecurity was not doubt based upon the fact that he was a sick man, a condition which frequently rendered him unable to attend to either the school or his ministerial duties. At any rate, Knox enjoyed the fellowship of "this most pious man" and after two years it was Knox's sad task to preach the funeral sermon of his long-suffering friend and co-worker.<sup>36</sup>

Before 1826, the issue of public support for education in America was a topic of much general interest. Obviously, Knox favored the cause of a state-supported education. Although he was opposed to the tax-supported free public schools, he was not inconsistent when he opposed this type of school since, in his mind, this was a pauper school. He was against the establishment of schools on the tax-supported "New England plan" because he felt that the State had the responsibility to see that the parents labored for the nurture of the child's mind as well as they labored for his body. It was

. . . rather of the public interest that such a system should be adopted by the State as would render it obligatory on every parent to educate offspring and to consider it as much their duty to labor for the food and nurture of the mind as for that of the body. I believe a parent can be compelled by law, if he has any possible means, to provide sustenance for the life of his child, and I do not see why they should not also be rendered responsible to the State for their proper instruction according to their means. . . . One thing I am certain of, and that is, that any system calculated to place public education on a degraded foundation will terminate to its injury and discredit, and a spirit for having it conducted on pauperism plans must have that tendency.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Steiner, "Samuel Knox" in *Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1898-1899* (Washington, 1900), pp. 597-598.

A copy of Knox's sermon, *A Discourse Delivered in the Presbyterian Church in Frederick* . . . (Frederick, *Herald*, 1825), is in the Library of the Md. Hist. Soc.

<sup>37</sup> Steiner, *op. cit.*, p. 598.

Perhaps Knox felt that the principle of a free tax-supported educational system would have been a violation of the sanctity of the individual which was a part of the Jeffersonian ideal which he supported. He probably was opposed to the "free" rather than the "State" part, feeling, perhaps, that it tended to pauperize men rather than make men of paupers.

Despite the many years which had passed without any overt activity or signs of activity in behalf of a national university by the Federal government, Knox had not given up hope; he still cherished the idea of a national system of education that was to be headed by a federal university. One had but to read the inaugural addresses of almost every American president up to that time to find words of encouragement for the proponents of a national university. In March of 1826, Knox travelled to Washington to lobby with members of Congress on that matter and reported of his mission to his son-in-law, Mr. Archibald George of Baltimore, that he

. . . was very attentively and politely received and treated by some of the members individually to whom I was introduced, but they all agree that public education was a subject Congress could not take up; that it was unconstitutional and reserved as an inherent right in each particular state.

I took the liberty of arguing the point with some of them in this way: I said that I regretted to have to observe that what tended to the growing opulence and high improvement of the nation in that respect, in as far as roads and canals could subserve the object, nothing seemed to be unconstitutional, but that roads and canals were absolutely necessary to convey the treasury of wisdom and light and knowledge to the minds of the community at large did not seem to be equally important; that such inlets to knowledge were considered "unconstitutional."<sup>88</sup>

Later in that year, 1826, Knox was still busily and actively pamphleteering for public education and teachers' colleges. In an *Essay on Education* written in 1826, he elaborated the proposals which he had first made in 1803 and reiterated the Jeffersonian educational philosophy of some three decades earlier, a faith in the boundlessness of human progress. Mankind, he felt, would

. . . continue to be progressive until all the generations of men shall have finally passed away. The introduction, therefore of any improvement that in any degree contributes to the credit and happiness of society, so

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<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 598-599.

far from disparaging what has already been done, ought to be the interest of all concerned.<sup>39</sup>

Samuel Knox's second association with the Fredericktown Academy ended once again in a disagreement with the trustees. Earlier they had been satisfied with his efforts, and they published a testimonial in the *Fredericktown Herald* of May 1, 1824, to that effect. One historian of Western Maryland recorded, however, that after a very heated controversy,<sup>40</sup> the Lancastrian system was abolished at the Frederick Academy on May 4, 1827. Although it has not been possible to ascertain the cause of the differences between Samuel Knox and the trustees of the Academy, it seems likely that the frictions were caused by a cantankerous old man who did not grow gracefully mellow in his old age and, in this case, who would not or could not see the defects of Lancastrianism.

On September 29, 1827, Samuel Knox advertised that in his "present proscribed condition" he intended to open a private school and that he would give instruction at night if ten people were to apply. He taught at this private school for a short while, but he had aged greatly and the boys took delight in cheating the old man. He soon retired from his life's work. A little bookstore on Market Space with the sign "Jesuitical and Non-Jesuitical Books" was then the focus of his attentions. He thus lived on at Fredericktown five years longer; his career as an educator slowly petered out, as did his own physical strength.

Thus the closing years in the life of Samuel Knox saw the old man still fired by the ideas that he originally proposed in 1797 and in 1803, enthusiastically proseletyzing for his private translation of Lancastrianism. He had become enamored of the quantitative aspects of education and had devoted the last years of his life in the attempt to make education universally available at a price—which, incidentally, he insisted upon—within reach of everyone. He theorized and propounded into his very last years. His professional retirement was marked by neither fanfare nor official honors. He departed from his profession in much the same manner that he had spent long years in it. He retired on the occasion of a squabble emanating, at least in part, from the

<sup>39</sup> *A brief essay on the best means of promoting the interests of public education* (Frederick, Samuel Barnes, 1824), p. 14.

<sup>40</sup> J. T. Scharf, *History of Western Maryland* (Philadelphia, 1882), I, 496.



theoretics to which he had so tenaciously clung all his life, theoretics which even by then were somewhat faded and outworn.<sup>41</sup>

The *National Intelligencer* (Washington, D. C.) of September 4, 1832, carried the following notice:

#### Death

At Frederick, Md, on Friday, after a lingering illness in the 76th year of his age, the Rev. SAMUEL KNOX, for many years the president of Baltimore College. Mr. Knox was a ripe scholar and a worthy gentleman, and highly esteemed by his old pupils and a large number of relatives and friends.

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<sup>41</sup> Among other publications by Knox in the Library of Md. Hist. Soc. is *A Compendious System of Rhetoric* . . . (Baltimore, Swain & Machett, 1809) (Bristol 750.)—Ed.

# ADAM CUNNINGHAM'S ATLANTIC CROSSING, 1728

By WHITFIELD J. BELL, JR.

THE hardships and hazards of ocean travel in the 18th century were accepted with such equanimity that accounts of even the most dangerous passages were often expressed with a detachment that makes them all the more moving. Such a record is Adam Cunningham's, made during a voyage from Scotland to Virginia in 1728 in a vessel carrying indentured servants to America.

Cunningham's journal of that voyage is a catalogue of terrors and sufferings. The captain was a drunkard who knew so little of his business that the crew once locked him in his cabin during a storm and managed the vessel themselves. The indentured servants broke open the wine chest one night and drank off three dozen bottles. The bread was consumed, the water turned foul and then gave out, until the crew were too weak from hunger and scurvy to do their duty, and the captain had to beg each passing vessel, often vainly, for a few provisions. One of the men fell overboard; for some days thereafter sharks followed the ship hungrily as it wandered along the aimless course the captain "charted." A tropical hurricane carried off the masts while all the servants and half the crew cowered helplessly below decks. Approaching its destination, the ship sailed past the Chesapeake Capes, and adverse winds delayed its return. When it got within the Capes at last, by either the captain's ignorance or his bravado, the ship ran aground, and the emaciated survivors of six harrowing months at sea stumbled ashore at last.

Little is known of Adam Cunningham, either in Scotland or in America. He was the son of Sir William Cunningham of Caprington in Scotland and a brother of Alexander Cunningham, who succeeded to the baronetcy of Prestonfield as Sir Alexander Dick.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On the Cunningham family generally see Hon. Mrs. Atholl Forbes, *Curiosities of a Scots Charta Chest, 1600-1800* (Edinburgh, 1897).

Adam studied medicine, probably in Edinburgh, perhaps also at Leyden, as his brother did; but he took no degree. The young men's father, old Sir William, once contrasted Alexander's "filial and kindly concern" with Adam's very different behavior; and there is reason to believe that Adam was at best heedless and unkind, and at worst that he went to the colonies because he got into some scrape at home.<sup>2</sup> He sailed from Scotland on April 4, 1728, with the intention of settling in Virginia as a physician.

May 5. Fair clear weather. We steer to the NW and make pretty good way, running twixt 6 and 7 knots per hour.<sup>3</sup>

May 6. The wind due west, so we steered NNW or NW and by N. About 4 in the afternoon we spied a sail and the master taking his glass, could make nothing of her. About one hour [afterwards] she came within one hundred and fifty yards [of us, fired a] sharp shot, which brushed by our broad side, [afterwards] flying out a white ensign. We now thought [she took us for] a French pirate or an Algerine man. Therefore [we presently] struck and hauled in our colors; but when we spoke them, we found [they] were French men and their Captain drunk, who out of bravado had fired at us, seeing we were defenceless. [From the] same to

May 18 we had generally calms. About the [22] we saw a ship on our larboard side about 4 miles distance from us. It being then break of day and our Captain much in liquor, we did not much care for speaking to them, but our Captain would speak to them and it being then a very rolling sea, as we were coming very nigh to speak them, a heavy wave dashed our ship against her bowsprit, which broke part of it, and we would not have escaped damage, had it not been by the dexterity of our steersman. The ship was a Frenchman lately come from Newfoundland load with codfish. We were then about the latitude of 47-00.

May 23. The winds still proving contrary, we resolved to steer to the S, and continued doing so until June 2, when the wind shifted to SW; then were were obliged to steer NW and WNW, which we continued for 6 days. About this time the servants aboard that were to be transported, broke open our wine chest and stole about 3 dozen of our wines, which was a great loss to us, our water beginning to smell. They were lashed to the pump and whipped with a cat-of-nine tails. [June] 8 the wind shifts to NE and we steer [W and] continue so to the 14. We now

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<sup>2</sup> Sir William Cunningham to Alexander Cunningham, Edinburgh, December 19, 1724. This letter, those cited below, and Adam Cunningham's journal are in the possession of Mrs. Dick-Cunningham and her daughter Mrs. Janet Oliver of Prestonfield, Edinburgh, by whose kind permission they are presented here.

Spelling, capitalization, and punctuation have been modernized.

<sup>3</sup> The first two pages of the journal, containing the record of the first month at sea, are lost.

plainly see the [Captain's] humor, for he gets himself drunk every night, never minding the course of the ship; and seeing our liquors beginning to run scarce, the supercargo and I take our own shares, leaving the other to him to do as he pleased, which he had not above 8 days before it was finished.

June 14. The wind at W and continues from W by N to W by S most part of this month. Here we had more wine stole from us, for which the principal rogue was hanged up at the main yard's arm and then plunged into the sea for 3 or 4 times successively; the rest were whipped at the main yard [mast?]. We are now almost out of liquor and therefore very sparing, our water being very loathesome to drink.

July 1. Exceeding hot weather, we being now in the latitude of 36-45. The weather very calm. Our men are so fatigued with heat they can scarce handle the sails, and our water very bad.

July 3. Spied a brig about 2 leagues ahead. We immediately hoisted our ensign, on purpose to know of her from whence she came, how far she might be from the coast of America, whether she had any fresh provisions to spare or could supply us with any rum and sugar. When we came nigh her we found she was an Irish ship come from Barbadoes bound for Cork in Ireland. We told her our condition, and the master desired us to hoist out our boat, which was immediately done, so our mate and 4 of the sailors went on board of her and were very kindly entertained; but they could not spare us any fresh provisions, only they supplied us with what rum and sugar we wanted. We understood from them she came from Barbadoes on June 4, and reckoned they were about 4 hundred leagues from the coast of America. They likewise told us they left the trade wind in the lat. of 30-00.

July 4. We immediately steer S on purpose to make the trade wind. It is now very hot weather but the sailors can stand it out a little better because we gave them a dram now and then. But our master is very lazy, lying in his bed and getting himself drunk for 2 or 3 days successively, without offering to take one observation or mind the ship's course. We make but slow way, our ship being very foul.

July 5. About 3 in the morning our watch cries for all hands upon deck, at the same time telling there was one of the ship's company fallen overboard. Immediately there was ropes thrown overboard, but all to no purpose, for 'ere the ship could be turned about, he perished. This poor fellow was one of the transports and had a hand in stealing our wine. The day the hottest we have had yet.

July 6. Fair clear weather. We continue to steer to the S. We perceive now a vast many dolphins and flying fish, which we frequently catch and make very good food of them, they being the only fresh provisions we can have.

July 7. Stormy weather. We sail all day long under a reef mainsail; but about 10 at night our master being in liquor, to show his courage,



ordered the sailors to hoist the main topsail, then the foresail and foretop-sail, at which the mates showed him the danger whereto he exposed the ship, cargo, and all their lives; but he, being headstrong, ordered them to hoist topgallant sail, which they, by the supercargo's persuasion, refused; and by force hauled him down to his cabin, where they shut him in all night. They lowered the sails presently, yet notwithstanding, the water had got over the gunnel and damaged several parcels of goods.

July 8. Fair clear weather. This day our supercargo takes a protest against the master. About noon we catch a shark 9 foot long, they having continued about our ship ever since our man fell overboard.

From July 9 to 26, we still continue to steer S, in which time we caught a vast many dolphins and bonitos, which was a great preservative against the scurvy, we having nothing but one barrel of salt pork aboard; but the greatest want we labored under now was the want of water, which, though stinking as it was, had all along preserved our lives. We were now reduced to almost one English pint per day, until

July 27, when there fell such a quantity of rain water as would have filled all the vessels we had, if we could have got them soon enough upon deck. We are now in the latitude 31-14.

July 28. We are just coming into the trade wind, but by the master's orders, we are obliged to tack about and steer NW and WNW, by which we could perceive his design was to protract the time as long as he could.

August 4. Pleasant weather. About 8 in the morning we spied a ship to the windward of us about 2 leagues. All our water we had being unwholesome and our rum gone, we hailed her to see if she could spare us any provisions or fresh water. When she came within speaking, we asked them from whence they came and to whom they belonged. They answered they belonged to Boston in New England, came from Newfoundland, and were bound for South Carolina. We then begged them to spare us what provisions they could, offering any price for them. But they answered they could spare nothing but some salt fish and a little rum, they being very scarce of water and provisions themselves. Then we gave them what they demanded and so parted. We understood by them that they reckoned themselves but 70 leagues from the Capes of Virginia; but to our experience we found afterwards we were more than 4 times 70 distant.

From August 5 to 23, very high winds and for the most part contrary. Here we find very strong currents setting sometimes northerly and then southerly, so that it was very difficult to keep a due reckoning.

August 26. About 10 in the morning perceived a ship about 3 leagues ahead. We hoisted our ensign, at which she bore down to us, and came up with us about 12. She had come from Nevis in the West Indies, had been load with rum, sugar and molasses, but having lost her masts in a hurricane, they were obliged to throw most of their rum and sugar overboard. She was steering for New England to repair and have new masts. We could get no help from them, it being then a very high sea.

From August 26 to September 2, very fair winds. We are now quite run out of bread, so that we were obliged to eat peas, but to our great comfort we had still water aboard.

September 3. Spied a ship on our starboard quarter, but it being then a NW[ester], which is a violent NW wind which continues about an hour, we could not speak her until it was over. She was a ship come from New York bound for Surinam in the West Indies, her cargo being most partly [sic] horses, having 29 of them when she came away and now only 12 remaining, being obliged to throw 17 of them overboard by the violence of the weather. We got from them 2 barrels of flour, which was a considerable helping our great necessity. We continued until this time in a pretty good state of health, saving the scurvy, which now began to show its effects upon our men's constitutions, for there was scarce 5 able to work the ship. In this condition we continued until

September 19, which was a day like to have cost us all our lives. It was a violent hurricane which began thus: Early in the morning we perceived a little black cloud rising from the NE. About one hour afterward it rose higher and spread broader. Our mate, who knew what it portended, immediately ordered the sails to be furled and the yards lowered; by the time this was done, we could perceive the cloud coming with mighty force and the sea at a distance rising like the Alps in a mass. It grew terrible dark as it approached, with all the other signs of terror. It was immediately ordered all hands upon deck and with much difficulty 7 came, the rest not being able or willing. We then shut all the hatches very close and secured the boat. The sea now began to be very high, and there was nothing but terror before us: large huge waves breaking over our stern and mizzen mast; our men crying to one another, but not a word to be heard, except they came close to one another's ears and whispered. At last there came a wave, like a mountain, which washed over our main top [shrouds] and brought the ship on her board side. At the same time ballast, goods and all shifted in the hold. Our ship lying on her broad side, made water very fast, and there was no pumping of her, none being able to stand upon deck. At last, with much difficulty, we got 2 men lashed fast to the pump to relieve one another. We had not now much hope of our lives but, relying on Providence, the carpenter was ordered to cut away the mizzen mast, which, done, we thought to have likewise cut the main mast, but before they set about it, the violence of the wind blew it off and the main yard, which fell directly upon the gunnel and almost shattered it to pieces. It was indeed very terrible now to see our ship, without either mast or sails, exposed to the violence of a raging sea, and so few hands able to work, so that had it not been the Providence of almighty God, we had all certainly perished. While the carpenter stood ready with his axe, there came a terrible wave, which washed him and 2 others overboard, but they were all 3 taken up alive. This tempest continued from 8 in the morning until 4 in the afternoon, but the height of it did not continue above 3 hours. About 5 we went down to the hold, where we found it much better than expectation, there being not above 2

foot of water in it, but the goods were much damaged. The ship lay all this time on her broad side, so that there was no standing; however, we shifted as well as we could the goods and ballast, and brought the ship a little to rights. Next morning proved a fine day, but it was very dismal to see our ship destitute of masts and sails, we not knowing how far we might be from any land. In the place of a main mast, we set up one old foretop mast, and for the mizzen one oar. We got old rotten remnants of sails in the hold and patched them up as well as we could, and after this manner we continued until the end of our voyage.

About 4 days after this we met a sloop in as bad a condition as ourselves, if not worse. She had met with a violent storm in the month of August, by which she lost her mast and her upper deck and cabin, with the supercargo in it. They had neither compass nor quadrant aboard and, having lost their rudder, were obliged to let her drive as the winds permitted. They had come from New England and bound for Jamaica. We spared them a compass and quadrant, for which our Captain got 8 barrels of flour and 6 firkins of butter. The weather continued very good and on Sunday,

September 29, we got soundings in 34 fathom water. About 5 afternoon we got sight of North Carolina, which was very acceptable to us, we not having seen land this 6 months and more. This day one of our men fell overboard and one died. Here we anchored 2 days, in which time we run a great hazard of our lives, for there happened at this time to be a Bristol ship and a Maryland ship riding along with us: the Maryland ship had come from Jamaica load with rum, sugar and molasses. The Bristol man came from Guinea but had disposed of his slaves in Barbadoes, and was bound homeward with a cargo of sugar. He had lost all of his men but 5 hands, and this Maryland ship was to conduct him to Virginia, where he was to get more hands and provisions. Our Captain went aboard to see him and there got himself very drunk. It being late at night when he came aboard and high sea, we could not get our boat hoisted in, which occasioned its being lost, for all night the sea was rough and next morning about 10 she was staved to pieces. The weather continued very tempestuous all that day, which forced the Maryland ship to slip her anchor, but the Bristol man and we still kept fast until about 12 at night, when the Bristol ship slipped likewise. Now, if she had struck on our vessel, it had been perhaps the loss of both ships, to save which we were just going to cut our cable, and had already cut it half through when the ship drove by us about 6 yards, and the wind being right on shore, forced the ship against a hard beach, where she was staved to pieces and all in her perished, they being fast asleep when she slipped her anchor. We had gone the same way had it not been for the toughness of our ropes.

Next day the wind proved fair and we weighed anchor and sailed along the coast toward Virginia; but we happened in the night time to sail by the Capes and the wind afterward turning N, we could not get back again. Here we met with an English ship bound for Maryland, from whom we got some fresh provisions, but our gums were so swelled with the scurvy

we could scarce eat<sup>d</sup> them. We continued about 2 days, and the third the wind turning fair, we got into the Capes, where, to complete our misfortunes, our Captain through his rashness run the ship aground in the bay, where she still continues without any hope of getting her off. Our whole crew were 19 when we came from Scotland and there are but 14 alive. Thus ends this tedious voyage, which continued 6 months and 17 days, we having come from Scotland April 4, 1728, and entered the Capes of Virginia October 21, 1728.

Cunningham made his way to Williamsburg. The capital town, however, was no place for an impecunious Scot, he thought, even though he could draw on his father for funds and had introductions to such fellow-Scots in that part of Virginia as Alexander Mackenzie of Hampton and Dr. James Blair of the College of William and Mary. In and near this village of "at most" sixty families, Adam wrote his father in 1729, there were "no less than 25 or 30 phisitians, and of that number not above 2 capable of living handsomly." More than this, he went on, the Williamsburg inns, where a bachelor must live, charged exorbitant prices, so that he could not afford to tarry. Accordingly, after providing himself with a stock of medicines, Cunningham travelled "up the country a considerable way," surveying prospects for practice in each county, but everywhere he "either found the parts provided with phisitians or so poor as not [to be] able to maintain one." It was the same story in Maryland. Despairing of establishing himself in America, on Dr. Blair's advice he decided to return to Scotland. Within a few days of the time he was to sail (as ship's surgeon on a vessel leaving the Rappahannock), Cunningham was stricken by an ague. On his recovery he journeyed up the river once more and settled near the Bristol Iron Works in King George's County. It was the sickly season, and he expected business would be brisk.<sup>4</sup>

At the Bristol Iron Works Cunningham was at least busy, even if he did not prosper.

As to my affairs in relation to physick, I cannot much complain, [he told his father in 1730], for I could have works enough of charity, to perform that way almost every day in the year, and indeed I cannot see a poor planter asking my advice or begging my medicines, without being touched with pity, and freely give him away the drugs that have cost me above

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<sup>4</sup> Adam Cunningham to Sir William Cunningham, King George's County, Va., August 2, 1729.



150 per cent in this country. I must own I do my endeavor to make it up with the richer sort, but these gentlemen are so very careful not to fall sick, as I almost despair of making any thing of them. This is indeed, Sir, the truth of the matter, and in my humble opinion there is no way of making money in this country so easy as by merchandizing, this being the occupation they all come at, for after they have purchased a little stock by their practice, they presently commence merchants, and so make their fortune. So that if Doctor Blair, Colonel McKenzie, and many others whom I could name have made their fortunes in this country, it is not to be attributed to their practice in physick but to traffick.<sup>5</sup>

Neither by physick nor traffick did Cunningham make his fortune. When he quit Virginia and returned home is not known. But from Newcastle-upon-Tyne, travelling from London to Edinburgh in the late winter of 1735-1736, he wrote his father to beg for money and arrange a secret rendezvous. He was in serious trouble and could not see friends or family. At least Adam spoke of his going abroad again as being for his father's honor and his own safety, and he expressed the hope that he might "be transported from Port Glasgow to some of the foreign plantations where I may pass the remainder of my days in a sincere repentence of my former folly."<sup>6</sup>

Nothing more than this is known of Adam Cunningham. The family tradition is that he disappeared in Virginia, perhaps after a second passage of the ocean as stormy as the one whose record his family still preserve.

<sup>5</sup> Same to same, Bristol Mines, Va., May 24, 1730.

<sup>6</sup> Same to same, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, March 23, 1736.

## BLOOMINGDALE, OR MOUNT MILL, QUEEN ANNE'S COUNTY

By SARA SETH CLARK and RAYMOND B. CLARK, JR.

THIS historic two-part connected house, "Mount Mill" (the original name which we will use in this article) or "Bloomingtondale," has been called "the most magnificent colonial [*sic*] homestead in Queen Anne's County from an architectural point of view."<sup>1</sup> It is situated on Route 50 about three miles from the once famous port of Queenstown and borders on the Northeast branch of Back Wye River. Built upon a slight rise of ground, "Mount Mill" serenely overlooks the surrounding countryside.

The entrance, approximately one-half mile in length, was at one time bordered by huge cedars, which have been replaced by large maple trees. As one approaches the house the first thing noticed is the unusual two-story octagonal portico. This is the only house in Maryland with such an entrance porch.<sup>2</sup> On the extreme west side of the house is another attractive one-storey portico. On the rear there is another such hooded porch which has steps leading down to the lawn and the old remnants of a formal garden.

The walls of the main structure are of brick laid in Flemish bond and the mortar is unusually hard. Thomas Johnnings Seth built this part of the house in 1792, which is now the main part of the house. The date "Nov. 1792" is carved on a brick which is about twenty feet above the ground in the northeast corner, doubtless placed there when the house was being built. The walls are finished by a simple cornice, and the roof is pitched very low—a feature of much federal architecture. There are single dormer windows with triangular caps on each end of the central section whose ridge lines line with the ridge of the house. The two broad chimneys are in the center of the house, and extend well

<sup>1</sup> J. M. Hammond, *Colonial Mansions of Maryland and Delaware* (Philadelphia, 1914), p. 211.

<sup>2</sup> The semi-octagonal two-story portico at Cedar Park, West River, Anne Arundel County, is of Victorian vintage. Courtesy of Mr. Bryden B. Hyde.

above the roofline. Instead of being placed at the end of the house as is usual in Maryland they allow for fireplaces on interior walls.<sup>3</sup>

The original house at Mount Mill, built about 1684, was a tiny brick structure, directly behind what is now known as the "old wing," which houses the dining room and kitchens today and was the second building on the property, probably erected during the late occupancy of Jacobus Seth. Family fortunes had improved and the size of the family made it necessary to have more living space. The original structure was then used as a kitchen. The "old wing" was constructed of brick and was ornamented with an unusual triple window in the second story, probably drawing its inspiration from the Palladian window so popular in Philadelphia and Maryland. This idea was conceived from importation of English design books by Isaac Ware, Thomas Swan, and John Gibbs. The rooms have low ceilings and squat fireplaces, the latter designed more for use than ornament. The walls were plastered directly on the bricks.

As in many houses there is a passageway connecting the 1695 and 1792, or the "old" and the "new" sections of Mount Mill. There is a wall above the doorway in the connecting passage which rises to the height of two-stories in the front and slopes off to a one-story level in the rear. Above the door are two arched recesses, in brick, which simulate windows, attempting to repeat the Palladian window effect used in the "old" wing. The doorway is distinguished by a peaked hood supported by iron brackets and embellished by wrought iron scrolled work.

The spacious hall, thirteen by thirty-seven feet in size, in the new section of Mount Mill is an outstanding feature of the first floor plan. It extends from the middle of the entrance facade through the house to the back or garden side. Off the back hall is a stair hall, separated only by a gracefully carved arch with a beaded oval in the center of the soffit supporting a hook from which an old light hung. The front door has a semi-circular bend and transom. The transom and sidelights have a delicate tracery of leading, still surviving, decorated with swags and stylized flowers. This work is similar to the fine and delicate work done on exteriors and interiors of Lemon Hill, built in 1799 by James

<sup>3</sup> Katherine Scarborough, *Homes of the Cavaliers* (New York, 1930), p. 251.

Pratt, in Fairmount Park, Philadelphia, and which copied the earlier home on the same spot built by Robert Morris, well-known financier and land speculator.

The cornice and chair rails are plain. Painted white, they make a contrast to the soft yellow of the plastered walls. The sides of the stairway are enclosed by five vertically graduated panels. The stair of wide, gently rising steps at the right of the L-hall is broken in its flight to the second floor by two landings. The square balusters are placed two to a tread. The ends of the steps are carved in a double scroll design in high relief. The mahogany hand rail ends in a graceful newel post. A half handrail, on the wall side, adds another refinement to an already delicate treatment of the stair passage. In the photograph one can see the side door which opens onto the very attractive double-arched side portico.

Doubtless this lovely hall of ample proportions was the spot chosen as a family sitting room in warm weather as the three doors and wide stairwell provided plenty of ventilation. Dr. Abbott Lowell Cummings has studied the usage of colonial rooms and confirms the value of the hall as a sitting room rather than the more formal parlors.<sup>4</sup>

The first floor of the new section of the house, in addition to the ample hall, contains a drawing room to the left of the entrance and a sitting room to the right. Behind the sitting room is the library. It is quite possible that one of these rooms may have served as a downstairs bedroom during the years of the Seth family occupancy.

The outstanding decorative features of these rooms are the delicately carved five-foot high mantelpieces. Those in the two larger parlors have two fluted columns topped by pointed and semi-circular carved panels flanking tiny diamond and circle beading which runs the length of the mantel shelf. Oval medallions are carved in the central frieze of both. On the sides of the two mantels are two recessed arches with reeded trim and keystone. The jambs contain cupboards. The library, like the room above it has a plainer mantel treatment, the main decoration deriving from crosseted corners, a device frequently appearing in the carpenter pattern manual books which copied English and Italian designs.

<sup>4</sup> Lecture of Dr. Abbott Lowell Cummings, Assistant Curator of the American Wing, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, entitled "How Our Forebears Furnished Their Homes," January 13, 1955, at the Maryland Historical Society.



Both parlors have four regularly spaced windows, two on each side, which are plainly trimmed and fitted with inside paneled shutters which extend from the window head to the floor. It is doubtful if elaborate hangings were used with such an arrangement. All the doors in this section of the house are six paneled, sometimes called "witches" doors. As in the hall, the rooms have a plain cornice, which give the proper balance to the high-ceilinged rooms. The walls, again, are plastered.

The second floor has four bedrooms duplicating the arrangement of the first floor with a small room over the front part of the wide hall. The two larger bedrooms have carved mantelpieces while the smaller chamber over the library has a much simpler paneling over the fireplace which is flanked by cupboards. This may indicate that the room was intended as a linen room. The third floor, also has a wide hall, two finished rooms, both of which have a dormer window and three storage rooms. It has been suggested that these rooms may have been used as quarters for the house slaves. Thus, this section of the house has nine good-sized rooms, three storage rooms, an entrance and stair hall, and two other halls.

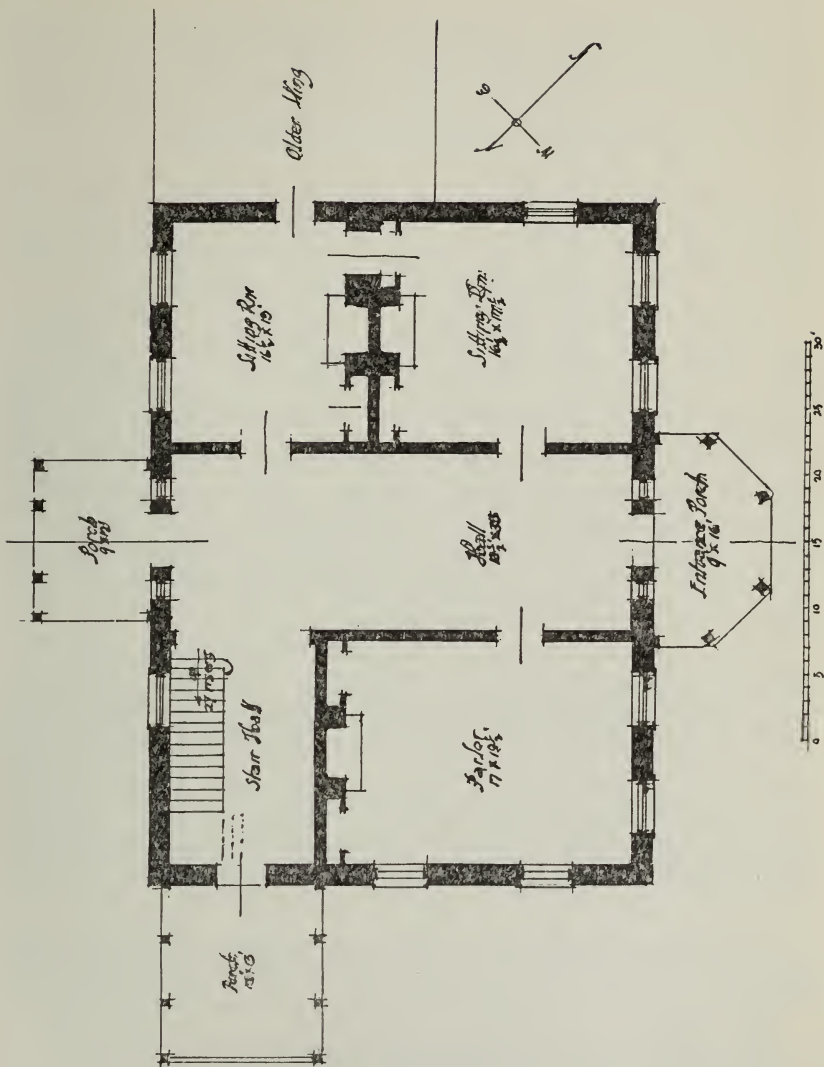
There are three separate unconnected cellars under the house. In the main section the cellar is divided into rooms exactly like those of the first floor and has fireplaces and brick floors. One can only speculate that much cooking, spinning, and weaving was done in these rooms by the slaves. There are the remains of an early furnace that an owner about sixty years ago installed.

A short distance from the house was a plain brick building with sixteen windows which was the old slave quarter, some of the foundations of which still remain. This has since been torn down but was seen by one of the co-authors in her youth. Thomas Johnnings Seth, the last of the Seths to own Mount Mill, manumitted his slaves before his death.

On January 16, 1685, Peter Sayer deeded to Jacobus Seth this tract of land which was to be his permanent home and which was to be owned by his descendants for nearly 200 years.<sup>5</sup> This tract was granted to Robert Morris by letters and patents from Lord Baltimore September 12, 1665.

The biography of Jacobus Seth, who called himself "Jacob"

<sup>5</sup> Talbot County Land Records, Liber 5, f. 12.



FIRST FLOOR PLAN OF BLOOMINGDALE

after his naturalization, prior to his purchase of Mount Mill is both interesting and intriguing. He is first known as a resident of Delaware.<sup>6</sup>

Two leagues from Cape Cornelius on the west side of the river near its mouth there is a certain creek called Hoern Kill, which may well pass for a middling or small river, for it is navigable a great way upwards . . . Channel at fort is wide and near the fort is a glorious spring of fresh water . . . running down to Hoern Kill or Harlot's Creek.<sup>7</sup>

The Dutch continued to claim the territory of Delaware. In 1630 one David de Vries built a fort within the capes of the Delaware on the west about two leagues from Cape Cornelius at the place now Lewis Town, then called by the name of Hoern Kill.<sup>8</sup>

Whether Swede or Dutch, Jacobus Seth is first a native of Delaware when his name appears on an appended list of settlers in Hoern Kill noted by the historian Scharf as belonging to the company in Delaware in 1676-1677. Captain Edmond Cantwell of New Castle obtained land patents for them. Jacobus Seth received five hundred acres.<sup>9</sup> He was also the recipient of a grant of land from the Duke of York called "Timber Ridge" <sup>10</sup> which comprised five hundred acres and was situated near the little village of Midway which is verified by a person who has surveyed much of the land in that section.<sup>11</sup>

Jacobus Seth and his wife, Margaret, left Delaware and came to the province of Maryland.<sup>12</sup> He bought a tract of one hundred acres in Dorchester County called "Huntingfield," from John Richardson and his wife, Susan. This tract was on the "south side of the great Choptank" and on the south side of a creek called Coquiaco Creek, near the land of Major Smithson's.<sup>13</sup> After the death of Jacobus Seth the Dorchester land records indicate his daughter Mary Seth, had inherited the property.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Samuel Smith, *The History of . . . New Jersey* (Burlington, 1765), p. 58. This source seems to think Jacobus Seth came over as early as 1627 with the early settlement.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22.

<sup>9</sup> Scharf, *History of Delaware* (Philadelphia, 1888), II, 1202.

<sup>10</sup> *Original Land Titles in Delaware . . . The Duke of York Records . . .* (Wilmington, 1890), p. 175.

<sup>11</sup> Letter, Wm. Mustard to Gen. Joseph B. Seth, June 29, 1903.

<sup>12</sup> Maryland Early Settlers List, Land Office, Annapolis, Liber 15, f. 518.

<sup>13</sup> Dorchester Co. Land Records, Liber Old No. 3, f. 77.

<sup>14</sup> Rent Rolls, Dorchester Co., 1659-1723, Calvert Papers No. 885, p. 284.

After the death of his first wife (before 1679)<sup>15</sup> he married Barbara Beckwith, daughter of Captain George Beckwith and his wife, Frances Harvey. Captain Beckwith died in London and his wife died on their plantation in St. Mary's County without learning of her husband's death. This circumstance gave credence to the ghostly tale about St. Joseph's Manor in which Barbara's mother's ghost arose from her grave, walked to the shore, and was met by her husband who had sailed up the river on a phantom ship. The two figures embraced, and then both vanished.<sup>16</sup> The two estates were settled at the same time, and the inventory showed they were people of culture and learning by the number and quality of the furnishings and the unusual number of books—a great number to be owned by a family in that period.<sup>17</sup>

The Beckwiths had lived on the estate Frances had inherited as sole heir of her father, Nicholas Harvey,<sup>18</sup> who is listed as one of the passengers of the *Ark* or the *Dove*.<sup>19</sup> He received a grant from Lord Baltimore and was "Lord of St. Joseph's Manor" which consisted of one thousand acres in St. Mary's County, surveyed December, 1642, with full manorial rights and privileges of Court Baron and Court Leet.<sup>20</sup> He also received one of the early commissions from Lord Baltimore to take a company of not less than twelve men (English), fully armed, and to go against the Marquantequats if necessary.<sup>21</sup>

Jacobus Seth was naturalized in 1684 probably with Peter Bayard and other migrating from Swedish Delaware to Maryland. It is highly probable that Jacobus Seth dropped the prefix "von" from his name then.<sup>22</sup>

With his family Jacobus came to Talbot County from Dorchester and on November 14, 1684, bought from Francis Shepeard and his wife Hannah, for "four thousand five hundred pounds of merchantable tobacco in casque" a tract of land known as

<sup>15</sup> Testamentary Proceeding, Hall of Records, Annapolis, II, f. 271. November, 1679, Barbara Beckwith, wife of Jacobus Seth, one of the orphans of George and Frances Beckwith, receives her share of estate of father.

<sup>16</sup> Ghost story written by Paul Beckwith and published in a Washington paper.

<sup>17</sup> Harry Wright Newman (ed.), *Seignior in Early Maryland* (1949), p. 43.

<sup>18</sup> Will of Nicholas Harvey. Maryland Wills, Liber 1, f. 11, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

<sup>19</sup> G. N. MacKenzie, *Colonial Families*, V (Baltimore, 1915), 293.

<sup>20</sup> H. D. Richardson, *Side Lights on Maryland History* (Baltimore, 1913), I, 264.

<sup>21</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, II, 87.

<sup>22</sup> Laws of Maryland (Recorded), Liber W. H. (1640-1688), Acts of 1684, f. 275, Hall of Records, Annapolis.



"Shepherd's Discovery." It was situated on the south side of a creek called Jones and consisted of two hundred acres of land on the Chester River in Talbot County alongside a parcel of land called "Ewing Field." Likewise the same day he purchased this tract called "Ewing Field" which also consisted of two hundred acres from the Shepherds' for the same amount.<sup>23</sup>

The acquisition of the tract of Mount Mill by the Seths came in 1685 indicating they lived on the Chester River property but a month or so. The name Mount Mill was probably derived from the fact that there was a mill on the property. The Miller's House is a gambrel-roofed brick house which is still standing. This mill was operated by the Seth family for many years and was known as Seth's Mill. Frederic Emory's *Queen Anne's County*, and W. H. DeCoursey Wright Thom and Dr. Elizabeth Merritt's monographs on Old Wye Church refer quite often to the old Seth Mill.

After Jacobus Seth's death, the mill passed to the various Seth descendants and several land records indicate that the mill was operated directly, leased, or mortgaged as a business venture. Thomas Johnnings Seth in 1796, bought one and a half acres from William Hemself (part of the "Cloverfield" tract) for twenty pounds next to his mill which was on the north side of the road from Seth's Mill to Wye Mill.<sup>24</sup> Seth's Mill was often used as a boundary in land transactions.<sup>25</sup>

On June 14, 1684, Jacob and his wife, Barbara B. Seth, sold William Younge, "Carpenter," thirty-three acres, a part of the tract of Mount Mill for 600 pounds of tobacco.<sup>26</sup> The next addition to the tract of Mount Mill that finally comprised a thousand acres was made when James Sedgwick sold Jacob Seth a tract of land named "Hackney Marsh" for seven thousand pounds of tobacco on July 16, 1684. This land was situated on the Wye River in the woods near Thomas' Branch and bounded on one side by the Mount Mill tract and on the other side by William Younge's land, "Middle Plantation."<sup>27</sup>

More than ten years later, on August 17, 1697, Jacobus Seth

<sup>23</sup> Talbot County Land Records, Liber 1, f. 361.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 362. Also Queen Anne's Co. Land Records, Liber S. T. W. No. 4, f. 399.

<sup>25</sup> Frederic Emory, *Queen Anne's County, Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1950), p. 20, 27, 197.

<sup>26</sup> Talbot County Land Records, Liber 4, f. 304.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 292.

purchased two more tracts of land. The first was "Jackson's Choice" bought from Richard Jackson and wife Lettice for 5,000 pounds of tobacco. This was in Talbot County "at the mouth of John Jenkins Creek to the Bay Side and bounded by said Bay" and contained fifty acres.<sup>28</sup> The same day, Peter Sayer and his wife, Frances record the sale of a tract of land to Jacob Seth for 5,000 pounds of tobacco. This Plantation named "Hogg's Hole" contained one hundred acres and was described as being "on the Eastern Shore on the North side of a creek called Jenkins Creek."<sup>29</sup>

This seems to be the last land bought by Jacobus Seth. However, in his will is the following:

I leave to my executrix if she shall agree with Mr. Blake to make tobacco for the land I bought of Colonel Peter Sewell which was according to Mr. Blake's own offer. The land was standing in six thousand pounds of tobacco and so it is shall be stricken off ye docket.

His will was dated December 22, 1697. He devised a large bequest to "my beloved fathers, ye five priests" and asked that "a priest be procured to officiate at his funeral, if possible."<sup>30</sup>

His elder son, John, was to receive the estate of Mount Mill and his son Charles the two properties on the Chester River. If John Seth died without heirs, Charles was to receive Mount Mill and those plantations bequeathed to Charles were to be the property of his daughters, Jane and Susannah. He was correct in his surmise for his son John Seth died young and the estate of Mount Mill became the property of Charles Seth. Jacob's daughter by his first wife, Mary, received his holdings in Dorchester, 2,000 pounds of tobacco and seven years rent free on the plantation where she then lived.<sup>31</sup>

The inventories and accounts settling Jacob Seth's estate make interesting reading, especially when they listed the mourning clothes for the children and the quantity of the liquid refreshments purchased for the funeral. Such occasions were great ceremonies and opportunities for much eating and drinking. Also in

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 251.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, Liber 7, f. 251.

<sup>30</sup> Will of Jacobus Seth, Talbot County Wills, Box 21, folder 15, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

the inventory were "books" belonging to Jacob written "in the Dutch language."<sup>32</sup>

Jacob Seth's son Charles when 14 was ordered by the court to be apprenticed to a ship carpenter, to learn a trade, which was the custom in colonial days. Charles Seth married Elizabeth Jennings who survived him and later married Nathaniel Connor. Charles Seth's will, dated April 23, 1737, was probated June 12th of the same year. He devised his Mount Mill property and surroundings to be divided among his four sons, John, James, Charles, and Jacob, who were the third generation of Seth owners of the property.<sup>33</sup>

Thus began the subdivision of the Mount Mill property which had taken Jacobus Seth some twenty years to amass. The division meant that each of the four sons received approximately 112 acres and is shown in indentures given from one brother to another. The part containing the manor house was in the end acquired by Jacob Seth.

James Seth, a ship joiner of Philadelphia, and his wife Anne deeded his portion of the lands left him by his father, Charles Seth, consisting of parts of "Benett's Outlet" (once Hackney Marsh and Hogg's Hole), Mount Mill and the "Addition" to his brother Charles Seth, a planter in Queen Anne's County, on January 12, 1753, for 116 pounds.<sup>34</sup>

John Seth sold his legacy to Edward Neale of Queen Anne's County. An agreement was signed August 30, 1759, for John's share of Mount Mill consisting of 112½ acres, with the appurtenances and the water mill, for 191 pounds, fourteen shillings, eight pence. They received the "Gears the Stones . . ." for four pounds current money if they paid the original price and interest by July 24, 1762. Edward Neale died and this contract was inherited by his daughter Martha who had married Francis Hall. The Halls sold the property back to John Seth and his wife Lucy, February 9, 1768.<sup>35</sup>

Two days later, February 11, 1768, records substantiate the sale of this same property, houses, water mills, water courses, etc., containing 112 acres of the tract called "Mount Mill" from

<sup>32</sup> Talbot County Inventories, Liber J. B. #1, f. 378.

<sup>33</sup> Queen Anne's County Wills, Box 11, Folder 50, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

<sup>34</sup> Queen Anne's Co. Land Record, Liber R. T. #D, f. 128.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

John Seth to his brother, Jacob, for 770 pounds. It was described as "beginning at a bounded cherry tree and running to the western end of the old house [the oldest building on the property] and near the graveyard . . . and from thence to that part of the plantation owned by Charles Seth."<sup>36</sup>

There were many sales of portions of the large estate and related properties, with houses, house gardens, orchard trees, timber trees, fences, water mills, ways, water and water courses, and after many such transactions over a period of a few years Jacob Seth subsequently became the owner of the majority of the land in the original Mount Mill tract owned by his father, Charles Seth, son of the immigrant, Jacobus Seth.<sup>37</sup>

From all indications Jacob Seth lived at Mount Mill. He died in 1773 (his will has not been located). There is an interesting Bill of Sale presented by George Durham, Cordwainer, for nine pounds current money for the following supplies at Mount Mill:

3 pewter dishes, 3 pewter plates, 3 pewter basons, 8 bed and 3 blankets, 2 bedsteads, 2 tables, 1 desk, 2 large chests, 9 chairs, 1 pot and 2 pans, 2 flour tubs, pot hooks, 1 frying pan, 1 pair flat irons, 1 box iron and heaters, 1 pale, 1 peggin, 1 washing tub, 6 tea-cups and saucers, 13 china plates, 2 pots, 1 china bowl, 1 china butter tub, 1 china salt cellar, 2 men's saddles, 21 books, 1 quart jug, 1 eathen bowl, 1 spinning wheel, 1 galoon jug, 2 quart jugs, 3 wooden bowls, 1 small fat pot, 1 small white mare.<sup>38</sup>

One has only to surmise from the mixture of ordinary with the finer the scale of living of the Seths at Mount Mill. Cheaper pewter and earthenware is purchased as is the more elegant china. Unfortunately the tables, desk, and chairs are not listed with descriptions, for they were probably Baltimore or Philadelphia Chippendale pieces.

Queen Anne's County land records show that Jacob Seth, millwright, paid Joseph Nicholson, the Younger, attorney-at-law, of Kent County, and Elizabeth his wife, 525 pounds for a parcel of land, part of two tracts—"Green Spring" and "Paxton's Lott" on the branches of the Wye River in Queen Anne's County, in 1768.<sup>39</sup>

Jacob Seth took quite a prominent part in county and church

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, Liber R. T. #H, ff. 161-162.

<sup>37</sup> Swepson Earle, *Maryland's Colonial Eastern Shore* (Baltimore, 1916), p. 128.

<sup>38</sup> Queen Anne's Co. Land Records, Liber S. T. W. #1, ff. 361-362.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, Liber R. T. #H, ff. 249-250.



work as is evidenced by the following references from Emory's *Queen Anne's County*. Jacob Seth was listed as a Vestryman of Wye Church on March 27, 1769, and of signing an agreement for construction, already begun, to the old church on April 8, 1771. His name is listed in a record of church wardens of St. Paul's Parish, which records his death in 1773.<sup>40</sup>

Mount Mill was inherited by Thomas Johnnings (Jennings) Seth, son and heir-at-law of Jacob Seth, Gentleman, of Queen Anne's County.<sup>41</sup> It was this owner who was responsible for having the "new" section or the main part of the present structure built in 1792. There are records which show that he sold to Edward Harris, on November 5, 1791, for 2,000 pounds, 345 acres consisting of "Green Springs" and "Paxton's Lott."<sup>42</sup> Rachel Clayland bequeathed to her daughter, Margaret Seth (then Margaret Chatham) two parts of two tracts of land—"Mary's Portion" and "Exchange." Records show this and the fact that Thomas Johnnings Seth and Margaret convey this same land to Phillip Feddeman, for 500 pounds current money.<sup>43</sup>

An act of January 15, 1799, authorized Richard Thomas, William Hopper, Thomas Wright, of Thomas, and Thomas Johnnings Seth of Queen Anne's County to raise by lottery a sum of money to refund certain monies advanced for building old Chester Church and repairing Wye Chapel.<sup>44</sup>

The next change in the ownership of the house occurred in 1817 when William H. Blake, Mary his wife, and John S. Blake of Queen Anne's County convey to Dr. Edward Harris of Baltimore a tract of land called Mount Mill. Mary Blake was the widow of Thomas Johnnings Seth and his second wife, and was entitled to dower rights and one-third of the land. William Blake conveyed his rights and title to John S. Blake. All three aforesaid sell for \$1,000 to Dr. Harris.<sup>45</sup> Some sources quote Chancery Records for this transaction but they have not been found.<sup>46</sup>

The next period of years were undoubtedly the gayest and happiest the old house had ever known. The Harris family enter-

<sup>40</sup> Emory, *op. cit.*, pp. 171-173.

<sup>41</sup> Queen Anne's County Land Records, Liber S. T. W. #1, ff. 362-365.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, Liber S. T. W. #2, f. 176.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 155.

<sup>44</sup> Emory, *op. cit.*, pp. 180-181.

<sup>45</sup> Queen Anne's County Land Records, Liber T. M. #1, ff. 496-497.

<sup>46</sup> Earle, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

tained lavishly and the house rang with dance music and the bright and happy voices of many young people. There are many references to the two beautiful sisters, Mary and Sallie. They were contemporaries of the three beautiful Caton sisters (each of whom married an English lord) and rivaled them in beauty and charm.

Of the two sisters, Sallie was more sprightly and vivacious. She had many suitors and spurned them all. Once after a ball at Wye Hall, the Queen Anne's County home of William Paca, Miss Sallie penned some lines which live until this day. They are of no literary merit, but perhaps serve to illustrate the simple habits of an earlier era. Of the ball she wrote:

Wend ye to tha Hall tonight  
 All the belles and beaux are going,  
 Mary with her bright brown hair,  
 Hazel eyes and cheeks so glowing.  
 The belles of Wye, too, will be there,  
 One is tall, the other winning,  
 Both are matchless in their form;  
 They will dance like tops-a-spinning.

She wrote of herself and sister Mary:

There are other dames I'd quite forgot  
 For they're grown staid and sober,  
 One takes snuff but the t'other don't  
 Although she's two years older.<sup>47</sup>

This is what Severn Teackle Wallis, a later owner of Mount Mill and nephew of Miss Sallie Harris said of her:

She was one of the most brilliant ornaments of the society of Baltimore City at a period when it was more remarkable than ever since for its beauty, cleverness, social, and intellectual accomplishments.<sup>48</sup>

In proper setting for the Harris girls, and equally fitting with the delicate paneling with its restraint so characteristic of the Federal or "classical" style, is an elegant mahogany "Lady's Desk" undoubtedly of Baltimore origin that was owned by the Harris family at Mount Mill. This piece is now owned by the Metropolitan Museum of Art of New York and is a key classical piece of furniture. The desk presents an interesting combination

<sup>47</sup> Anne H. Wharton, *Social Life in the Early Republic* (Philadelphia, 1902), pp. 215-216.

<sup>48</sup> F. S. McGrath, *Pillars of Maryland* (Richmond, 1950), p. 527.

of several designs from Thomas Sheraton's *Cabinet Maker's and Upholsterer's Drawing Book*, first published in London in 1793. The cylinder or roll top lid conceals a pull-out writing slide with an adjustable reading stand. The doors of the secretary part conceal small drawers and compartments that are framed with cross-banding of light wood. Seven painted eglomisé glass panels, five oval, and two diamond-shaped, represent religious and allegorical figures reflecting the height of the classical style upon decorative taste as first dictated by the designs of Robert Adam in England in the early 1760s. Those panels on the secretary depict the goddesses Temperance and Justice.<sup>49</sup>

The will of Dr. Edward Harris which named Mary and Sallie as his executors, was made March 17, 1835. He devised an annuity of \$250 to Mary and Sallie during the life or widowhood of his wife, Sarah, and at her death, the entire estate to be left to his two daughters. His son, Edward, was to receive \$250 annuity from farms on Wye, or Bordley's Island, and he was to have a home with his mother or sisters if he so desired.<sup>50</sup>

The years passed and after the death of their mother, and a long and happy life with many suitors the famous Harris sisters shut themselves up in the old wing at Mount Mill and became recluses. Sally, always the more aggressive of the two, seemed to have more business acumen, and the estate and the mill were known as the "Sallie Harris land and mill."

Legend has it that Mount Mill like many colonial homesteads, possessed a ghost. Its one appearance occurred in 1879 when Miss Nancy DeCoursey, was visiting Miss Sallie Harris. After they had retired for the night they heard a knock at the front door. Accompanied by a servant they went to investigate and found a ghostly figure on the threshold. The phantom spirit resembled the form of William Sterett, Miss Harris's nephew, who had drowned in the old mill race. The ghost led them down the hall and up the stairs to the room the nephews had occupied when alive. The figure passed through the locked door, but when Miss Sallie and her guest unlocked the door, they found only a rumpled bed to show any signs of occupancy.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>49</sup> *Baltimore Furniture: The Work of Baltimore and Annapolis Cabinetmakers from 1760 to 1810* (Baltimore, 1947), No. 77.

<sup>50</sup> Queen Anne's Co. Wills, Liber, T. C. E. #2, ff. 72-76.

<sup>51</sup> Hammond, *op. cit.*, pp. 214-215.

During the lifetime of the Harris sisters the name of the estate was changed from Mount Mill to Bloomingdale. The sisters were famous for their church work, their charities, and their hospitality. The will of Miss Sallie Harris was probated May 5, 1880. She devised all to her sister, Mary, should she survive her. Legacies were made to her great nephew, James William Sterett and his sister Sallie E. Littig, which consisted of a farm called the "Church Farm" (near the Catholic Church) and on the left of the new road to Centreville. She bequeathed the remainder of her property (on the right of the Centreville road)—all she possessed including mansion house, tenant house, all buildings, improvements, furniture, plate, stock, and personal estate, mill, and mill seat adjoining Bloomingdale on opposite side of road, to her friend and relative, Severn Teackle Wallis, of Baltimore, at the death of her sister Mary, and paying all other legacies. She desired that her executor, Mr. Wallis, invest such an amount of her personal estate to make secure the servants who had formerly been slaves.<sup>52</sup>

Severn Teackle Wallis is well known to Marylanders. He was honored abroad for his scholastic abilities and was prominent in civic affairs in Baltimore, where a statue was erected in his honor. Graduated from college at sixteen, he completed his law course at nineteen and practiced law although he could not be admitted to the Bar until he was twenty-one.

Trying to prevent the Civil War, he was one of the members of the Legislature who protested to President Lincoln against the passage of troops through Baltimore. Later he was arrested with other members in order to prevent the secession of the State from the Union. Imprisoned for months, he declined to take certain oaths submitted to him as the price of freedom and lost his health in consequence.<sup>53</sup> Late in life he served as President of the Maryland Historical Society.

Wallis on January 28, 1892, sold Bloomingdale where he had frequently entertained Baltimore society, to his nephew, John Mather Wallis but he retained a mortgage securing the sum of \$23,712.19, the balance of the purchase price.<sup>54</sup> However, Wallis died intestate in April, 1894, and John Mather Wallis sold the

<sup>52</sup> Queen Anne's Co. Wills, Liber W. A. J. #1, ff. 304-312.

<sup>53</sup> Scarborough, *op. cit.*, pp. 253-254.

<sup>54</sup> Queen Anne's Co. Land Records, Liber L. D. #1, f. 253.



property to John S. Wallis to satisfy the mortgage by order of the executors of the estate of Severn Teackle Wallis. On July 8, 1898, James Mather Wallis deeded to Hiram S. Dudley for \$18,000 Bloomingdale, consisting of 634 acres and 39 perches of land and being the same tract granted and conveyed by John Mather Wallis and wife to John S. Wallis, subject to an agreement of December 2, 1895.<sup>55</sup>

The Dudley estate owned the property until April 17, 1952, when it was purchased by Gordon L. Shawn and his wife, Corrine, from Hiram G. Dudley, and others as Trustees for their late father and mother's estates. The acreage and boundaries were the same as have been previously mentioned.

This ancient homestead has had many owners and has withstood the elements for many years. It is a fitting monument to the skillful artisans of earlier days that they built in such a manner so that the beauty and dignity of colonial and federal styles can be preserved in a more modern age.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, Liber W. H. C. #8, ff. 121-126; Liber W. H. C. #6, f. 147; Liber W. H. C. #3, f. 457; Liber T. S. P. #4, ff. 428-431.

# JOHN EDMONDSON—LARGE MERCHANT OF TRED HAVEN CREEK

By FRANK B. EDMUNDSON and EMERSON B. ROBERTS \*

PERHAPS there was none among the early immigrants to Maryland whose interests were more diversified, certainly there were few whose property was of greater extent, than that of John Edmondson, Quaker merchant of Talbot County. In his day he was among the largest, if not the largest, landholder on the Eastern Shore, a buyer and seller of land whose name appears more frequently than that of any other private citizen in the Maryland public records of the 17th century, a road builder, a ship builder, and an importer and exporter through whose warehouses passed goods in great quantity. He represented Talbot in the Assembly for a number of years.

While John Edmondson has many descendants in Maryland, Delaware, and elsewhere, and while the public and Quaker records are replete with his transactions, strangely, no memoir of him has been printed. The authors of this article, neither of whom is a descendant, but both of whom have a deep interest in local history—particularly of Quaker interest—wish to acknowledge the great collection of memoranda drawn from the records during a long period of years by the late J. Hooper Edmondson of Baltimore. In addition the authors have on their own account examined original records in Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New York, the Barbadoes, England, and Ireland. In their view little further is to be gleaned and the time is at hand when what is known should be recorded lest this honorable Quaker gentleman wait another three centuries for more worthy biographers who may find old records even more obscure and further deteriorated than the present authors have found them to be.<sup>1</sup>

\* Both of the authors passed away after this article was submitted. While no consultation with the authors was possible, it has been thought advisable to print their interesting article.—*Ed.*

<sup>1</sup> Acknowledgment is made for assistance received from Friends' Historical Library at Haverford College; Swarthmore College; Albert Cook Myers, Moylan, Pa.; Miss Isabel Grubb, of Ireland; Hall of Records, Annapolis; Hall of Records, Dover, Del.; Historical Society of Pennsylvania; and Maryland Historical Society.

"We are Englishmen ourselves and free born" testified John Edmondson with William Berry and Richard Johns in 1681, in petitioning for a modification of the law on the taking of oaths,

though in scorn commonly called Quakers . . . so far from desiring the least breach of Magna Charta or of the least privileges belonging to a free-born Englishman, we had rather suffer many more degrees than we do, than willingly admit to the least violation of those ancient rights and liberties which are our birthright and had we not been well assured that our sufferings may be redressed and our requests granted without violating Magna Charta in the least degree, we would not have desired it.<sup>2</sup>

The English background of John Edmondson of Talbot has been the subject of much surmise but with no certain result. Many have thought him a brother of that William Edmundson, the great Quaker evangelist and apostle who has been called The Hammer of Ireland. The family of the evangelist was of County Westmoreland and this William Edmundson did have a brother John whose baptism is recorded, May 8, 1625, in the Parish of Crosby-Garrett, Little Musgrave, Westmoreland. In his *Journal* William Edmundson says his brother John left England for Ireland in 1653 as a trooper in Cromwell's army and that in Ireland he joined the Society of Friends. The Irish Quaker records frequently refer to him during the remainder of his long life. In 1707 he wrote a letter describing himself as 83 years of age, in poor health, and living in Timahoe, Queen's County, Ireland. So while the query of Colonel Tilghman "was not this John Edmondson, First Quaker of Talbot, related to William Edmundson, the Quaker Evangelist," is not fully answered, this record sets straight those who have too hastily stated that John Edmondson of Talbot was a brother of William Edmundson, the Evangelist. That he was a kinsman, however, and in not distant degree seems highly probable.<sup>3</sup>

Lest there be confusion with respect to the usage of the *u* and the *o*, let it be recorded that William Edmundson, the Evangelist never spelled his name Edmundson, but his *Journal* was published

<sup>2</sup> Rufus Jones, *Quakers in American Colonies* (1923), p. 333. See also *Archives of Maryland*, VII, 152-154, and E. D. Neill, *English Colonization of America* (London, 1871), p. 305.

<sup>3</sup> *A Journal of the Life . . . of . . . William Edmundson . . .* (London, 1774), 2d edition, pp. 3 ff.; John Ratty, *Rise and Progress of Friends in Ireland* (1751), *passim*; and Oswald Tilghman, *History of Talbot County* (Baltimore, 1915), I, 106.

as "Edmondson's" and since then his descendants have followed the practice.

William Edmondson, the evangelist, visited Talbot in 1671/2 and again in 1675/6. He came first via the Barbadoes and Jamaica landing with the party containing George Fox at the mouth of the Patuxent. After several meetings with Friends there he passed on to Virginia, then returned to Maryland by boat, stayed several meetings on the Western Shore, then passed over the bay to the Eastern Shore, moved north as far as New York, then returning via Delaware Town, then again to the Cliffs in Calvert, then back to the Eastern Shore for many precious meetings, and down the shore to Annessex. In all of this travel he must have visited Talbot meetings and have met John Edmondson but no such record is found in his *Journal*.

John Edmondson, when he came to Maryland, resided first in Calvert County. In 1658 land rights were claimed by Captain John Horne, merchant of London, for the transportation of himself and his servants, Richard Marsham<sup>4</sup> and John Edmondson.<sup>5</sup> Within a few years John Edmondson was appearing as attorney in cases at law, and in 1663 represented John Horne in that capacity.<sup>6</sup>

The passage from England to Maryland was via the Barbadoes or John Edmondson visited there extensively on important missions after coming to Maryland. In either case he attained the circumstance and position there that is reflected in the fact that he was subsequently an executor and trustee in important matters including the settlement of the estate of Roger Fretwell, merchant of the Barbadoes, son a Ralph Fretwell, a British judge on the islands. Another prominent citizen of the Barbadoes with whom John Edmondson had close ties of confidence was Francis Gamble of Heathcote Bay. Both Fretwell and Gamble subsequently came to Pennsylvania partly through the influence of John Edmondson. In Pennsylvania they began their operations by founding a trading company known as Gamble and Company, then later The Barbadoes Company, purchasing from John Edmondson in 1685 more than four thousand acres of land in the vicinity of Mispillion

<sup>4</sup> Query: Was he that Col. Richard Marsham who married as her third husband Ann Calvert, daughter of Gov. Leonard Calvert? See J. W. Thomas, *Chronicles of Colonial Maryland* (Cumberland, 1913), pp. 53 n, 54 n.

<sup>5</sup> "Early Settlers List," p. 200 (Md. Hist. Soc.).

<sup>6</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, XLIX, 30.



Hundred, Delaware. Subsequently these and other holdings of The Barbadoes Company were transferred to the Pennsylvania Land Company of London formed in 1679 about the time of the coming of William Penn.<sup>7</sup> John Edmondson was executor for Edward Gibbon, another representative of the Barbadoes Company.<sup>8</sup> Considerable correspondence between Fretwell and others and Edmondson touching these matters is in the Delaware Records of Kent County.<sup>9</sup> About 1694 John Edmondson was visited at his home in Talbot County by two young men, one of them Joseph Growden of the Barbadoes, relative to the settlement of an estate there.<sup>10</sup> Growden in correspondence referred to John Edmondson as an old acquaintance "from whom he was like to get more words than money." Of this particular transaction we have another glimpse. On January 14, 1683, Col. Philemon Lloyd wrote to William Penn,

John Edmondson of our county at whose request I give this assurance, that he, the said Edmonson stands bound to me in the somme of one hundred pounds to secure the payment of fifty pounds bills of Exchange, drawn by William Pickering of yr Province, factor, as I understand, to one Growden upon Mr. Peter Hackworth of London. . . .<sup>11</sup>

The ties between Edmondson and Fretwell seem to have been close and personal. Fretwell wrote Edmondson from the Barbadoes, 6th of 12th month 1683, "John Edmondson loving friend my true love to thee in the pease of the Lord and to thy family."<sup>12</sup> Then on December 28, 1692, Dorothea Fretwell, widow of Ralph Fretwell, appointed John Edmondson, "merchant attorney," administrator of the estate of her deceased son, Roger.<sup>13</sup>

John Edmondson continued to reside in Calvert County for about five years, and he accumulated considerable property there. By 1663, however, he was beginning to sell his Calvert property and prepare for his removal to Talbot. At the Provincial Court, 4th day of the month August, 1663, he gave power of at-

<sup>7</sup> Henry C. Conrad, *History of the State of Delaware* (Wilmington, 1908), II, 674.

<sup>8</sup> MS, Pennsylvania Historical Society, AM 2013, 70-2.

<sup>9</sup> Delaware Archives, Deeds B-1, 16, 17, 18, 19 and 52.

<sup>10</sup> Nannie Ball Nimmo, "Light on the Family of Gov. Josias Fendall," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXVIII (1943), 283.

<sup>11</sup> *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (Albany, 1877), XII, 631-632.

<sup>12</sup> Del. Arch., Kent County Deed Book, B-130.

<sup>13</sup> C. H. B. Turner, *Some Records of Sussex County* (Philadelphia, 1909), p. 154.

torney to Richard Collett in all matters touching his interests.<sup>14</sup> On April 15, 1664, Francis Armstrong of the Clifts in Calvert and Frances his wife sold to John Edmondson 350 acres of land called "Sarke" on the south side of the Choptank River. On April 22 of the same year Daniel Jennifer sold to John Edmondson of the Clifts, Calvert, 800 acres in Talbot, a parcel called "Dover." In the deed for "Sarke" John Edmondson is called "Calvert County Merchant."<sup>15</sup> On the 16th of the 3rd month 1665 John Edmondson and Sarah his wife sold two parcels in Calvert through their attorney, Daniel Jenifer.<sup>16</sup> On November 21, 1664, he bought of Francis Armstrong 450 more acres in Talbot called "Jack's Cove." In the same month he bought 200 acres in Third Haven. These transactions mark the decision of John Edmondson to cast his lot on the Eastern Shore.<sup>17</sup> There is the further evidence of his effort at this time to recover what debts were due him in Calvert.<sup>18</sup>

From the time of his arrival in Talbot until his death there thirty-four years later his activity was tremendous. The extent of his Maryland land totaled 40,000 acres in Talbot, Dorchester, and Kent, some of it doubtless within the present Queen Anne's and Caroline counties. There is a larger number of land transfers to and from John Edmondson than for any other person in the 17th century in eastern Maryland. In Pennsylvania (now Delaware) between 1673 and 1687 there are recorded twenty-six tracts in total exceeding 27,000 acres.<sup>19</sup> In 1666 John Edmondson and John Pitt

humbly prays the Right Hon. The Lieutenant General to grant Lycence and Commission to trade and traffique with any Indians within the Province for Beaver and Roanoke or other Commodities to the value of two hundred weight of Beaver or other skins and Two Thousand Armes Length of Roanoke. . . . Order that John Pitts and John Edmondson have toleracion lycence and liberty to Commerce and trade with any Indians within this Province Provided they be accomptable for the tenth part of all Beaver so by them traded for, to the Lieutenant General for the time being.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, XLIX, 54-55.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 249.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 521.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 408, 534, 535.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 122, 423, 430.

<sup>19</sup> Edmondson acquired more than 110 tracts of land in Maryland.

<sup>20</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, III, 555-556.

John Edmondson's wife appears to have been the daughter of the Hon. William Parker, member of the Hanbury Company, and one of the commission government of Maryland (1656).<sup>21</sup> Parker resided in Calvert County but died in London in 1673.<sup>22</sup> His will, dated January 3, 1673/4, mentions his daughter Sarah Edmondson by name.<sup>23</sup>

In the public life of the Province John Edmondson played an active part. He was a member of the Lower House in 1676 and in 1678. Being a Quaker he refused to take the oath of office but was seated on his affirmation.<sup>24</sup> He was chosen again in 1681, 1685, 1691, and 1692. In 1678 he received payment of tobacco in advance in operations against the Nanticoke Indians. In all these years the reports of the Assembly contain many references to his part in the public deliberations and actions. He appears frequently as attorney prior to 1676. His was important testimony in the consideration of the proceedings of riotous character that took place in the Talbot County Court House and in which his own election was involved.<sup>25</sup> He was a "taker-up" of land in the town of Oxford under the Acts both of 1684 and of 1694. Under the latter he became one of the ten commissioners to layout, direct, and create Oxford into a town and port. Subsequently he assigned 100 acres of his Oxford town land for a Commons. In 1689 he was a signer of the Address of Welcome from the Protestants of Talbot on the accession of William and Mary to the Throne.<sup>26</sup> In 1689 in a letter by Col. Peter Sayer to Lord Baltimore he is mentioned as one of the men signing a warrant for the taking of arms and ammunition for the Rebels to be used against the Indians.<sup>27</sup> In 1690 in a letter of Col. Thomas Smithson to the Bishop of London John Edmondson is cited with John Coode as threatening and imprisoning people, spreading false rumors about Indians and Papists, and finally mutiny.<sup>28</sup> Later in 1690 he was a signer of a letter from the people of Maryland to the King describing the state of affairs in Maryland under Captain Coode.

<sup>21</sup> We are indebted to Mr. Wm. B. Marye who established the identity of Mrs. Edmondson.—*Ed.*

<sup>22</sup> There are numerous references to Parker in the *Archives of Maryland*; see for instance, X, 66, 407, 472 *et passim*.—*Ed.*

<sup>23</sup> See *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, 32 (1878), 337.—*Ed.*

<sup>24</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, XIII, 354, 356.

<sup>25</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, XIII, 288.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 144.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 159.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII, 192-193.

Shortly thereafter an order was signed continuing John Coode as Commander in Chief of His Majesty's forces in Maryland with the assistance of a committee of twenty of which John Edmondson of Talbot was one.<sup>29</sup> In 1691 he was one of the signers of "Articles Against Lord Baltimore."<sup>30</sup> In the same year he was appointed a Justice of a Provincial or Superior Court to try the murderers of John Payne.<sup>31</sup> He was a witness in 1692 in the case of the misuse of the Talbot Court House by a group of persons disaffected by Court decisions many of whom became inebriated. In this case his testimony confirmed that of others that

Mr. Lillintone in company with several companions came to the Court House during their sitting and holding court and took a room over the Commissioners Chamber that they bespoke a dinner to be brought to the water side and a Table to be there, a great deal of victuals were seen being carried out of the Court House into the field where they did Carrouse drinking all night. Some of them had ridd their horses into the Court House—some of their frolics had put themselves into the Pillory. They drank untill they fell together by the ears—one flinging one another into the water—and in their frolics they had given a name to their place of meeting. Lillingstone said it would be called a Convention—the others said it should be called Lambeth Hall. The aforesaid company continued their frolics four or five days or thereabouts.<sup>32</sup>

In 1694 the public ammunition was committed to the charge of John Edmondson.<sup>33</sup> In the same year he was on the bond of the Collector of Wiccomocco and Potomac, £400 sterling.<sup>34</sup> In 1695 he was on the bond of Edward Greene who seizes wrecks "Thither coming & by Law condemnable" and "Whales & other Royall fish . . . with liberty of trying Oyle."<sup>35</sup> While in the Assembly with two other Friends, Ralph Fishborne and Bryan O'Mealy he was appointed to confer with Col. Vincent Lowe on the charges of the latter that it was the influence of Friends in the Assembly that had caused taxes to be raised so high. Friends were cleared of the charge.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 199. Also Raphael Semmes, *Captains and Mariners of Early Maryland* (Baltimore, 1937), pp. 652-653.

<sup>30</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, VIII, 215-220.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 242.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, XIII, 366.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, XX, 206.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 259.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 269, 302-303.



Likewise in local affairs John Edmondson played an active part. In the levy of 1669 he was assessed 6600 pounds of tobacco at 76 per poll.<sup>36</sup> This was one-third of the total assessment on all residents of the county. In 1669 he was appointed by the Court with Mr. William Coursey "Overseeare and Repairer of the High ways." His jurisdiction was from the Ordinary to the Choptank.<sup>37</sup> In the same year he was granted ten acres of land lying at the head of Miles River in Talbot County on each side of the run of the water running there together for the building of a mill. As early as 1676 he proved his rights for transporting thirty servants in the preceding year but he assigned to Will Stevens of Somerset and others the right to 1,400 acres of land for the transportation of these people. The individuals brought in largely bear Quaker names frequently met in the early Talbot records.<sup>38</sup> His local prestige is reflected in the testimony in the affair of Poh Poh Caquis, a drunken Indian, who attempted to murder by gunfire William Troth in his home. Troth testified that after the incident, fearing further trouble, he took refuge in the home of John Edmondson and found visiting there Col. Philemon Lloyd, a member of the Governor's Council.<sup>39</sup> John Edmondson took in and cared for a wounded soldier, William Smith, who had been disabled by the Indians, and for this service received compensation from Talbot County.<sup>40</sup> Between 1679 and 1698 the Provincial Judgments reflect that he was plaintiff in 117 instances and defendant in 103 although disputes between Quakers that ordinarily would bring recourse to Court were settled in Quaker Meeting and without recourse to law. Disputes in which he was involved brought him at times under Quaker discipline. John Edmondson was a contributor to the first school library in Maryland—that at Third Haven.<sup>41</sup> The library was founded by George Fox with books sent from England following his return from his visit to Maryland. Some of these books remain in the Third Haven Meeting House to this day. A sidelight on the diversity of the

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, LIV, 445.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 435.

<sup>38</sup> Among them Montague, Johns, Peeke, Lewis, Dorrington, Gurling, Marsh, Sharpe, Mackley, Eubanck, Shaw, Tate, Dowsworth, Lamb, Brownings, Stoakely, Archbold, Magurney, Barrett, Wasse, Fisher, Oram, and Kilgore.

<sup>39</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, XVII, 176-178.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, LIII, vlvii; LIV, 419.

<sup>41</sup> *Two-Hundredth Anniversary of the Friends' Meeting House at Third Haven* (Easton, 1884).

activity of John Edmondson is reflected in a review of the practice of medicine in the early colonial days. The Editor of the Early Maryland County Courts reports it this way:

A curious incident of a contract based on a promised cure is to be found in the suit of a certain Thomas Watson who agreed to serve Mr. John Edmondson for two years if the latter would cure his leg and complained that he had been assigned by Edmondson to another master, and that his leg had not been cured, and added that he was in "Grate Miserry," and petitioned for his freedom. The Court asked Dr. Richard Tilghman for an expert opinion who reported that "the leg was very bad and required speedy help." The Court freed Watson from his contract and ordered Edmondson to pay him the usual "freedom corne and clothes."<sup>42</sup>

John Edmondson's transactions are spread upon the Pennsylvania records of the Lower Counties on the Delaware especially at New Castle. It is recorded that at a public outcry of the houses, lands, and possessions of Capt. John Carr who had been of the Commission Office at Delaware that John Edmondson purchased for 3300 guilders "the house and lands known as the Greathouse with the blok-house and ketching with the erves thereunto belonging." A year later he petitioned for a new survey of the lands he had previously bought but had been prevented from possessing by the coming of the Dutch. Other litigation at New Castle reveals the extent of the land transactions of John Edmondson in these Pennsylvania counties. John Edmondson and John Moll were the agents of John Fenwick, a great Quaker and the founder of the town of Salem, New Jersey, and the owner of great tracts of Pennsylvania land in Delaware. Personally and perhaps once accompanied by his wife Sarah he attended meetings of the Court at New Castle. Capt. Edmund Cantwell, Commissioner of the fort at New Castle, visited John Edmondson at his home at Cedar Point in Talbot. At New Castle Edmondson was represented by his attorney, John Moll said to have been the most eminent mathematician in the colonies. The record of John Edmondson's Pennsylvania litigation is voluminous but chiefly interesting for the light it sheds on life and events of these early days in and about Christiana Creek.

There are in the Delaware records further entries to indicate the diversity of Edmondson's operations there. He was sued in

<sup>42</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, LIII, liii; LIV, 466-467.

the Upland Court of Pennsylvania for 1,200 pounds of tobacco on a transaction involving "a certain great boat or shiallup" and at auction the boat was sold for 625 guilders to be paid in tobacco at 8 stivers a pound or in wheat at 5 guilders a schepel.

One of the earliest, if not the earliest Quaker in Talbot, and throughout his life a vigorous cultivator of both the inner and the outer plantations, it was John Edmondson who deeded the land for the building of Third Haven Meeting House, 1682. It is a portion of "Edmondson's Neck" on which his own home "Cedar Point" stood. Before the meeting house was built the home of John Edmondson was the place of meeting. George Fox was twice a visitor at John Edmondson's, November 3, 1672, and January 24, 1673. The births of the Edmondson children and the marriages of all of them except Grace and Samuel are recorded in Third Haven Meeting. John and Sarah were first among the witnesses to many a marriage there. George Fox in his *Journal* states:

The day following we travelled hard, though we had some troublesome bogs in our way; we rode about fifty miles, and got safe that night to Robert Harwood's at Miles-river in Maryland . . . and though we were weary and much dirtied with the bogs, yet hearing of a meeting next day, we went to it, and from it to John Edmondson's; from whence we went three or four miles by water to a meeting on the first-day following. . . . I went back to friends that night and on the next day we departed thence about nineteen or twenty miles to Tred-haven creek to John Edmondson's again, and whence the third of the eighth month we went to the general meeting for all Maryland friends.

George Fox records that the meeting lasted several days, the first three being for worship and the last two church business. He records "several magistrates with their wives, many Protestants of diverse sorts and some Papists and persons of chief account in the country were present. It was thought that there were a thousand people and there were so many boats on the river that it was almost like the Thames."<sup>43</sup>

John Edmondson's seat was "Cedar Point" in the area yet known as "Edmondson's Neck" on the Tred Avon about two miles from present day Easton. Parts of the old home are still standing in spite of a disastrous fire. For many years the property was known locally as the Edward B. Hardcastle estate, then as the estate of Charles Todd, and more recently it has become the prop-

<sup>43</sup> *A Journal . . . of . . . George Fox* (London, 1765), pp. 447-449.

erty of Mr. and Mrs. W. Alton Jones in whose hands it has become one of the finest examples of colonial restoration in Maryland.

John Edmondson died in 1697 or early in 1698. His will is dated 9th of 8th month 1697 and was probated in Talbot March 7, 1697/8.<sup>44</sup> In Pennsylvania the document was recorded in Kent County, now Delaware. The will speaks of wife Sarah, sons James, Thomas and Samuel, his deceased son John, his daughter Elizabeth Stevens, and son Abraham Morgan. In the later part of the will is reference to "my five children." The executors were the widow and the four sons. The bond was 2,000 pounds Sterling, and Abraham Morgan was the security.<sup>45</sup> While the property was of great extent there was insufficient cash to settle. By 1709 the estate was not yet settled and then Thomas, the sole surviving executor, sought an Act of Assembly to confirm him in the sale of certain of the Pennsylvania land for the payment of debts due from the estate. In the Pennsylvania record is this "Whereas by Act of Assembly, November 11, 1709. Thomas Edmondson of Talbot County, Gentleman, was empowered to sell and dispose of lands left by the will of his father John Edmondson."<sup>46</sup> Under this authority Thomas Edmondson sold to Robert Grundy about ten thousand acres of Delaware land. The remaining land in Pennsylvania was not sold until October 7, 1763, when John Reed of Philadelphia purchased the residue for three thousand five hundred pounds. Some small portions yet remaining were sold in 1769 to Thomas Wharton. Most of the Maryland land came down through Pollard Edmondson to Horatio Edmondson and then to Horatio, Jr. who apparently was not able to conserve the considerable estate that had come to him from his forefathers. Horatio Edmondson, Jr. was the last Edmondson to reside at "Cedar Point."

No doubt the ashes of John Edmondson, Gent., Quaker merchant of Third Haven lie in the Meeting House of Third Haven there in "Edmondson' Neck," but there is no stone as such were then not used by Friends, but in a larger measure the Meeting House itself is a monument to the memory of this man of large affairs who cherished in his heart the simple beliefs of Quakers.

John and Sarah Edmondson have many descendants in Talbot,

<sup>44</sup> Delaware Calendar of Probate 20, Dover.

<sup>45</sup> Test. Proc. 17, 188. Inventory JB # 1, 63.

<sup>46</sup> Del. Test. Proc., D P D, 94, Dover.



in Dorchester, and in other Maryland counties, in Delaware, and elsewhere. Many have retained their Quaker allegiance.

Sarah, the eldest of the children, born 24th of 11th month called January, 1664, married "in an assembly of the people of God at their meeting place at the house of John Edmondson" December 26, 1682,<sup>47</sup> William Johnson, mariner of Radcliffe in Old England. In consideration of the marriage John Edmondson deeded to them the tract of land on the north side of Third Haven Creek which he had purchased from Francis Armstrong while yet a resident of Calvert.<sup>48</sup> William Johnson died before May 22, 1697, and John Edmondson administered on his estate.<sup>49</sup> Sarah must have died before the 8th month 1697 as she is not mentioned in her father's will.

John, the eldest son, "born 2d of 2d month called April 1666," married at Betty's Cove Meeting, March 28, 1685,<sup>50</sup> Susannah O'Mealy, born June 27, 1673, daughter of Bryan O'Mealy and his first wife, who was Ann, the widow Morgan. John died in March, 1687, without children. He left a will dated February 13, 1685/6, which was recorded at Annapolis but not in Talbot. Its provisions were confirmed in the will of his father. He made his next oldest brother James his residuary legatee. The property was considerable including "Cook's Hope Manor," 1000 acres. This property passed by primogeniture to James Edmondson's son, John Edmondson.<sup>51</sup>

Grace, second daughter, born 22nd of 9th month 1668, was a witness to a marriage when she was thirteen, but she is not mentioned in her father's will, and so was presumably dead before 1697. An inference has been drawn by some from an obscure item in the will of John Edmondson that she married a Brooks. After making dispositions to all of his children and to his wife and after bequests to a number of others there is this: "Item, I give unto Katherine Brooks grand Child two hundred acres of land out of thirteen hundred acres that I have by Indian Town." The question remains whether Katherine Brooks is his grandchild or whether the inheritor is the grandchild of one Katherine Brooks whose interests John Edmondson recognized.

<sup>47</sup> Third Haven Records, 97-99.

<sup>48</sup> Talbot Land Records 4, AH, 181-2.

<sup>49</sup> Test. Proc. Kent County 1695-97, Vol. 16, 239.

<sup>50</sup> Third Haven Records, 5, 339.

<sup>51</sup> D. M. Owings, "Private Manors: An Edited List," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXIII (Dec., 1938), 325-326.

James, the second son, the forebear of the Edmondsons of Talbot, was born 25th of 2nd month called April 1670 and died June 27, 1702.<sup>52</sup> He married December 18, 1691, Magdalen Stevens of Dorchester at Dorothy Stevens' house in Great Chop-tank.<sup>53</sup> After the death of her husband at the age of 32 Magdalen married Jacob Loockerman at St. Peter's Parish Church in 1711. The marriage was condemned at Quaker Meeting "he not being a Quaker."<sup>54</sup> Subsequently she condemned her own action in marrying outside the good order.<sup>55</sup> James Edmondson and his brother Thomas provided the timber to cover the meeting house at Third Haven.<sup>56</sup> The four children of James and Magdalen married into the Pollard, Bartlett, Clayton and Powell families.<sup>57</sup> A grandson through John, called John of Banbury was a delegate from Talbot to the Convention which ratified the Constitution. John, son of James and Magdalen, married Margaret Pollard, daughter of Tobias and June Pollard of Dorchester and they had with others a son Hon. Pollard Edmondson who married March 5, 1738, Mary Dickinson, daughter of Hon. James Dickinson, and they had a family of sons and daughters, among the latter Lucretia who in 1786 married Capt. Severn Teackle. These became the parents of Elizabeth Custis Teackle who married Phillip Wallis to whom was born, September 6, 1816, Hon. Severn Teackle Wallis of Baltimore. Another daughter, Elizabeth, married before 1763, Hugh Hopewell of St. Mary's County, Justice of the Court there, and from them is descended the Duchess of Windsor. Pollard Edmondson, Sr., served in the Colonial Troop of horse, 1748;<sup>58</sup> he was a member of the Lower House of Assembly 1751-1768; a member of the Provincial Convention 1775-1776 and a member of the Convention ratifying the Constitution of the United States 1788. He died in 1794.<sup>59</sup> Pollard Edmondson, Jr., likewise had a distinguished public career. He was an officer in the American Revolution and was one of the commissioners for the erection of a Court House at Easton to accommodate the General

<sup>52</sup> Third Haven Records, 341.

<sup>53</sup> Third Haven Records, 5, 355.

<sup>54</sup> Third Haven Records, 2, 58. ff

<sup>55</sup> Third Haven Records, 2, 102.

<sup>56</sup> Third Haven Records, 2, 284.

<sup>57</sup> Talbot Wills, 25, 135.

<sup>58</sup> "Colonial Militia, 1740, 1748," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, V (June, 1911), 193.

<sup>59</sup> R. H. Spencer, "Hon. Nicholas Thomas," *ibid.*, 156 n, and Tilghman, *op. cit.*, I, 179, 545.

Court of the Eastern Shore and the County of Talbot. His children married into the Thomas, Howard, Trippe, Teackle, and Bozman families; his grandchildren into Barroll, Lownes, Groome, and Plater families. At "Cedar Point" is a stone engraved to Charlotte Matilda, daughter of Horatio Edmondson and wife of John Rousby Plater in her 72nd year. Her mother was Charlotte Leeds Thomas, daughter of William J. and Rachel Leeds Thomas. John Rousby Plater was the second son of George Plater of Sotterley, St. Mary's County, Governor of Maryland, 1791-1792, and his wife Elizabeth Rousby of Rousby Hall, Calvert County. Governor Stevens of Maryland likewise is a descendant of John Edmondson through his second son, James. Branches of the Talbot family from James were settled for several generations on Taylor's Island and on Hooper's Island. Marriages of this branch of the family are with the LeCompte, Pagon, Airey, and Vickers families.

Henrietta Maria, third daughter, was born 26th of 12th month 1671. She is not mentioned in her father's will and was probably dead by 1698, certainly so in 1709.

Martha, fourth daughter, born 6th of 2nd month 1673, died on the 20th of the same month.

William, third son and seventh child, the founder of the family in Dorchester, was born in 1677. He married Sarah Sharp, 25th day of 12th month 1692 at William Sharp's in Talbot.<sup>60</sup> Intention had been recorded November 6, 1692.<sup>61</sup> He and his wife died the same day, 7th month 1702 and are buried in a single grave near Island Creek. His five children married into the Troth, Kennerly, Neal, and Lowe families. His grandson, Peter Edmondson, who married Sophia Neal, February 23, 1756, was a delegate to the Maryland Convention which ratified the Constitution of the United States. In 1702 Third Haven Meeting was disturbed by the "outrunning betwixt William Edmondson and William Dixon" but after the meeting William Edmondson acknowledged that "he does not qualify himself and would never do the like again."

Elizabeth, fifth daughter, married October 26, 1695, William Stevens, Jr. Their intentions had been laid before the meeting February 5, 1695. There was one son, Edmondson Stevens, mentioned in his grandfather's will. Elizabeth died before 1709.

<sup>60</sup> Third Haven Records, 5, 363.

<sup>61</sup> Third Haven Records, 219, 221.

Thomas, fourth son, married August 7, 1699, Mary Grasson (sometimes Grasun, and again Grayson) the widow of Robert Grasson. He was Burgess from Talbot 1718-1719 and held town lots at Oxford. They left a family of sons and daughters who married into the Hopkins and Tibballs families. He died in 1719, the last surviving son and executor of his father.

Samuel, tenth and youngest child, was born October 14, 1684. For some reason, so far undiscovered, he was baptised in St. Peter's Parish Church, March 29, 1703. He died in 1704. Of him no record appears other than a summons, April 5, 1708, served upon Thomas Edmondson, who had at that time filed an accounting on his brother's, Samuel's estate.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>62</sup> Talbot Co. Test. Papers, Box 16, f. 52, Hall of Records, Annapolis.



# THE GREAT MARYLAND BARRENS: III

By WILLIAM B. MARYE

(Concluded from Vol. 50, No. 2, June, 1955, p. 142)

## THE QUALITY OF LANDS IN THE BARRENS

A "tax list" for Harford Co., 1783<sup>116</sup> made out separately for each "hundred," gives us the benefit of more or less competent opinion as to the quality of lands within and adjacent to the Barrens. Lands are given one of three ratings: good, midling, and sorry.

Broad Creek Hundred,<sup>117</sup> virtually all of which lay within the Barrens, seems to have presented the appearance of an uninterrupted stretch of poor land, probably, for the most part, a waste. It is not unlikely that in 1783 as much land remained in this hundred to be taken up as had already been surveyed. Of the surveyed lands the assessor rated 4548 acres as "sorry," 326 acres as "midling" (of which 150 acres were on or near the Susquehanna), and none as "good." Deer Creek Upper Hundred, a considerable part of which was in the Barrens, had 8,614 acres rated "sorry," none "midling," and only 20 acres rated "good." A great deal of land situated between the Barrens and Susquehanna River got the lowest rating. It must be remembered that this rating was probably meted out to rocky, steep, non-arable lands, as well as to arable hillsides and levels of thin soil and "barrens." Deer Creek Middle Hundred<sup>118</sup> had 12,271 acres entered as "sorry," as against 410 acres "midling" and only 31 acres rated "good." The better sort of land all lay on Deer Creek. "Arabia Petrea," which was shared by the three hundreds last

<sup>116</sup> Scharf MSS, Md. Hist. Soc.

<sup>117</sup> Descriptions of the bounds of this hundred and of the others herein mentioned are not at hand.

<sup>118</sup> The uppermost boundary of this hundred on Deer Creek appears to have been in the neighborhood of Sandy Hook, since a part of "Spittlecraft" was included in it. "Freeland's Mount," which was divided between this hundred and Deer Creek Lower Hundred, lies on the north side of Deer Creek, a little over a mile below the mouth of Thomas's Run.

mentioned, had 4,943 acres rated "sorry." The suspicion that the lowest rating was too liberally dispensed is probably not justified. Lands situated along the Susquehanna, between Deer Creek and Peddler's Run, and extending back from the river a mile or less, got, for the most part, high ratings, as might have been expected.<sup>119</sup>

The three Harford Co. hundreds which bordered on the state line were Eden, Deer Creek Upper, and Broad Creek. Eden Hundred lay in the northwestern corner of the county. Deer Creek Upper Hundred took in the upper part of Broad Creek and the valley of Falling Branch. These three hundreds and Bush River Upper Hundred, together, embraced all the area of the Barrens in Harford County. Bush River Upper Hundred comprised the valley of Stirrup Run, and stretched across the Fork of Winters Run to the Little Falls of Gunpowder River. In the 1783 tax-lists this hundred and Eden Hundred are lumped together. Within the bounds of these combined hundreds there were 21,449 acres which were rated "sorry," 6,113 acres rated "midling," and only 668 acres rated "good."<sup>120</sup>

From these records it appears that in 1783 by far the greater part of all the patented and leased lands situated in the northern section of Harford County had a low rating. Since it is reasonable to suppose that the number of acres within this area then remaining uncultivated (which must have included a very large amount of "vacant" land) was greatly in excess of the land under cultivation, it follows that this rating was in large part based on the nature of the wild growth or vegetation which was to be found upon respective tracts. It seems most unlikely that any parcels of "vacant" land would have got better than a "sorry" rating.

We look in vain for traces of the Barrens on a "Map of Harford County Showing Agrcultural Soils," published by the Maryland Geological Survey in 1905. All about the head of Little Deer Creek and thence to the Baltimore Co. line, about Shawsville, Black Horse, Madonna, Cathcart, and Jarrettsville, the soil is mostly described as "good" for general farm crops. Yet the whole of this fruitful area was once included in the Barrens. The map shows rocky land, such as that about the Rocks of Deer

<sup>119</sup> These river lands all lay within Deer Creek Lower Hundred.

<sup>120</sup> Outside of those parts of "My Lady's Manor" (55 acres) and "Isles of Caprea" (330 acres) which were rated "good," only 33 acres in these combined hundreds got that rating.

Creek, and naturally barren land here and there, as, for example, around Cherry Hill in the Mine Old Fields. A strip of poor land is shown, extending along the south side of Broad Creek, from its mouth upwards about 2 miles. One may judge of the poor quality of this strip by the woods growing thereon today. Soil maps of Baltimore County likewise show no traces of the Barrens. There is no continuous belt of poor land in these countries where the Barrens once spread.

### THE HUNTERS OF THE BARRENS

By a treaty made July 5, 1652, the Susquehannock Indians ceded to Maryland all territory they claimed which was situated between Patuxent River and Palmer's Island,<sup>121</sup> and from Choptank River to "the North East Branch"<sup>122</sup> which lies to the Northward of Elk River."

At that time settlements had already been made in Calvert and Anne Arundel Cos. Some lands were surveyed on the north side of Patapsco River in 1652, but it is not to be supposed that they were settled until several years later. A fort named "Fort Conquest" had long stood on the northern end of Palmer's Island.<sup>123</sup> On the Eastern Shore no lands were taken up before 1658, except on Kent Island. Settlements were begun that year in the tidal rivers of the Western Shore north of the Severn, and in those of the Eastern Shore, outside of the aforesaid island. It is the year of the spreading out of settlements so as to take in the whole of tidewater Maryland.

All the back country between the lower Susquehanna and the Patuxent, bounded on the east by the heads of the tidal rivers, was, before 1652, the hunting ground of the Susquehannock Indians. Undoubtedly, they continued to hunt there long afterwards, but eventually, after their power was broken, they were forced to share this preserve with other tribes. It is likely that by 1730 they had ceased to hunt in the Barrens and went hunting farther to the west to avoid contact with settlers.<sup>124</sup>

<sup>121</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, III, 217 ff.

<sup>122</sup> The North East River. This river is mentioned by its present name in "A Relation of a Voyage made by Mr. Cyprian Thorowgood to the Head of the Bay," 1634, a manuscript presented by the late Dr. Hugh Hampton Young to the Enoch Pratt Free Library.

<sup>123</sup> Marye, "Early History of the Site of Havre de Grace," *Mr. Hist. Mag.*, XIII (1918), 205, 206.

<sup>124</sup> Marye, "The Old Indian Road," *ibid.*, XV (1920), 377.

In early historical times, beginning with Captain John Smith's exploration of Chesapeake Bay in 1608, the inner fastnesses of this great Susquehannock hunting preserve were probably not inhabited by sedentary Indians, living in towns, as Indians did in Southern Maryland. Furthermore, it is pretty well established that there were no Indian towns at that period in the tidal rivers of the Bay between the Patuxent and the Susquehanna. They were uninhabited; from the Patuxent northward "untill you come to the head of the Bay, there are no more Rivers that are inhabited; there dwell the Susquehanocks, upon a River that is not navigable for our Boates, by reason of Sholes and Rockes; but they pass it in Canoos."<sup>125</sup>

This statement is sufficiently borne out in several ways. Had there been Indian towns in those rivers, they would certainly have been mentioned in the *Archives of Maryland*. They would probably have been mentioned in the laying out of lands. They would have been mentioned in treaties. Their chief men would have sent in complaints. Their Indians would have got into trouble with white people. At the same time, evidences of Indian occupation are probably just as abundant in this region as they are in that of the known Indian towns of historical times.<sup>126</sup> Were there at one time sedentary Indians, not related to the Susquehannocks, living upon those rivers, who were driven out by that warlike people?

The hunting grounds of the Susquehannocks, extending to tide-water, were probably a depopulated, uninhabited wilderness when alienated, in 1652. The Barrens lay within this preserve, and it is to the Susquehannocks that, for want of any other theory, we attribute the development of the Barrens.

<sup>125</sup> *A Relation of Maryland* (anonymous), 1635, in *Narratives of Early Maryland* (New York, 1910), p. 78. Cyprian Thorowgood, the Indian trader, in his journal of a voyage to the head of Chesapeake Bay in the year 1634, mentions the Susquehannocks as follows: "This nation is a very valourous and stout people living in pallisadoed townes about 40 miles from this [Palmer's] Island, they are commonly 2 daies in going home in their cannowes, but can come downe in halfe a day, because of many falls which are in the river" [the Susquehanna]. No Indian towns in those parts are indicated on Captain John Smith's Map of Virginia (1612).

<sup>126</sup> The only conspicuous signs of former Indian occupation which are still to be seen upon the shores of tidal rivers, creeks, coves, and the Bay, itself, between Susquehanna River and Patuxent River, within the area once claimed by the Susquehannocks, are the shell-heaps. They are all, perhaps, prehistoric, although, probably, not of any great antiquity, and it is a fair guess that they are the work of people living on the Bay and its estuaries, rather than that of intruders from the north.



They suffered crushing defeat and humiliation in 1676, but were by no means wiped out.<sup>127</sup> However, their time for lording it over other tribes, or "nations," as we once called them, was ended. In the minutes of a debate between William Penn and Lord Baltimore's representative Colonel George Talbott, over the boundary question, which took place in 1684, Talbott called to mind the fact that

every nation [of Indians] had its own well defined hunting grounds. . . . That part of the Susquehannocks country that lies in Maryland, [he went on to say], vizt between the 40th degree and the rivers Papapsco, Elk and Sassafra, was theirs; but they were conquered by the Marylanders and are now no nation. Their right to these lands now is vested in Lord Baltimore; vizt their right of hunting there and of barring all others. This territory was never hunted over by the Delaware Indians in the Susquehannoh's time; and now they ought to be licensed or not permitted to hunt anywhere west of the Elk River no more than in the Susquehannoes time, their ancient right being to hunt eastward of the Elk River.<sup>128</sup>

Already by 1678 the Delawares were laying claim to these hunting grounds, namely, the upper parts of Baltimore Co.,<sup>129</sup> and by 1697 they were accustomed to hunt there, as we read in the Proceedings of the Council: "The Susquehannahs Delawares and Shevanoes [Shawnees] do take themselves and are inclinable to be under this province [Maryland] because of their hunting within the same betwixt Susquehanna and Potomoke."<sup>130</sup>

Until 1699, or thereabouts, no settlements were made in the backwoods or "forest" of Baltimore Co., above the heads of the principal estuaries of the Chesapeake, except for a very few outlying plantations and the cabins and truck patches of hunters. There, up to that time, Indians continued to go their way unmolested, and, perhaps, more often than not, unobserved, even to within a short distance of the English plantations. On October 9, 1697, the Council considered the report of John Oldton, Captain of Rangers in Baltimore Co., in which we find among other matters, the following information: "We have Ranged & made discovery of all Good Lands back of our Road and found a

<sup>127</sup> *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 659 (Bulletin 30, Bureau of American Ethnology).

<sup>128</sup> *Narratives of Early Maryland*, pp. 440, 441.

<sup>129</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, XV, 175.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, XIX, 520.

great many Indian Cabbins and Tents where we marked Trees and sett up our names." <sup>131</sup>

The same year the Council, looking into the matter of some murders and depredations committed by Indians at the head of the Bay, considered the testimony of a certain Charles Hewitt, an elderly man, living as a lessee or a tenant on a plantation in the Fork of Gunpowder River, a few miles above the head of tide-water, cut off from other settlements by uninhabited country. This man deposed that for the past four years he had been "seated" upon his plantation, which was situated "upon the head of Gunpowder about ffour miles without any inhabitants," and lying directly in the "walks" which Indians "usually take when they move to their hunting Quarters; the Indians usually passing that way to hunt being not above a dozen or ffourteen men besides women & children." <sup>132</sup> The picture of these hunting parties is completed as follows: "Their Company's in moving Seldom above two or three with their ffamilies." "Their passing was peaceable modestly asking and paying for such Necessarys as they had occasion of." "Their time of moving to their hunting Quarters was in June from whence they return'd not till September & then in Companys as they went laden with their pelt."

Hewitt further testified that, in contrast to this peaceful coming and going upon their occasions, Indians numbering between 50 and 60 men, all armed, painted and well supplied with rum, and without their wives and children (a sign of warlike intent) had within the past three months called at his house, and had taken what they wanted, without paying for it. He testified that their demeanor in so doing was insolent and threatening, and that they had used "Jestures and postures unaccustom'd." They alleged that they were on their way "to Potomock" to trade. <sup>133</sup>

Who were these Indians? Perhaps Susquehannocks; perhaps, Shawnees. One is tempted to identify them as Delawares. In 1697 a remnant of this tribe was living on White Clay Creek in

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIII, 260, 261.

<sup>132</sup> See "The Old Indian Road," *op. cit.*, p. 122. The author presents evidence that Hewitt lived on a tract of land called "Selby's Hope," situated at and about Kingsville, in the 11th District of Baltimore Co., some 4 miles, more or less, above the shore of Gunpowder River in the Fork. This stretch of shore, now encased in marsh and alluvial land, which lies between the mouth of the Little Falls and the (old) mouth of the Great Falls, was taken up and settled in the 1660's.

<sup>133</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, XXIII, 188-191.

New Castle Co., Delaware. The objection to this theory is that they could muster only 40 men.<sup>134</sup>

It is to the Delaware Indians' known habit of hunting in the former hunting preserve of the Susquehannocks that we attribute the name of Delaware Bottom, a piece of low ground on the South Branch of the Patapsco, below Sykesville. From Delaware Bottom were derived the names of Delaware Falls (the former name of the South Branch), Delaware Hundred, and Delaware Bottom Branch.<sup>135</sup> It is suggested that the Delawares may have set up their hunting quarters in Delaware Bottom.

#### THE BARRENS AS A RANGE FOR STOCK

It is a commonplace that in colonial Maryland it was the custom among the planters and farmers to let their stock run wild in the woods, whether on their own land, on their neighbor's land, or upon vacant land. These wild, or semi-wild creatures (called "critters" by the uneducated) generally bore their owners' marks or brands, which were duly recorded. There was much stealing, and sometimes, when the dishonest one failed to take due precaution, the hide of the stolen animal was discovered and found to bear the owner's mark. All stock so running wild—horses, pigs, cattle—were subject to the assaults of beasts of prey, particularly panthers and wolves. In 1652 Robert Brooke brought suit against Cuthbert Fenwick for misappropriating "one Great large Bore, which defended the rest of the hogs from the wolves really worth three hundred weight of Tobacco."<sup>136</sup>

The neighborhood of a good, open range was considered a great asset to a plantation. As time went on, such ranges, in parts well within the frontier, became more and more restricted in extent. If available, they are mentioned in advertisements, as for example, a notice of the sale of 1000 acres (later "Perry Hall") on the Great Falls of Gunpowder River, which was inserted in the *Maryland Journal*, June 4, 1774, by Archibald Buchanan, administrator of the estate of Corbin Lee, Esq., "suitable for a gentleman, miller or farmer." "It is contiguous to an extensive range of 10 to 12 miles circuit of uncultivated land held by the [Notting-

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 444.

<sup>135</sup> Marye, "The Baltimore County Garrison and the Old Garrison Roads," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XVI (1921), 253 n.

<sup>136</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, X, 243.

ham} Iron Works from whence any number of cattle may be raised."

Several contemporary advertisements bear witness to the fact that lands which lay within easy distance of the Barrens, were considered to be the more valuable on that account.

On September 23, 1746, a certain Archibald Douglas advertised in the *Maryland Gazette* the sale of 250 acres, part of "Scut's Level,"<sup>137</sup> situated in Baltimore Co., "about ten miles from the head of Patapsco [meaning, the head of tidewater, at Elk Ridge Landing] and the same distance from Baltimore Town," "convenient for stock, there being an outlet to the Barrens of Patapsco."<sup>138</sup>

In the *Maryland Gazette*, November 8, 1749, J. Ross offered for sale a tract of land containing 4200 acres, called Nicholson's Manor, belonging to the heirs of William Nicholson. This manor is described as situated "in the forest of Baltimore County," "about 24 miles from Baltimore Town on Patapsco River" (the distance is over-estimated). It is further described as "well situated for raising Stock, *there being a great Range of Barrens back of it.*"<sup>138</sup>

In the *Maryland Gazette*, December 6, 1749, Beale Bordley offered for sale two tracts of land (not named), described as lying upon the branches of Patuxent River, about four miles from Green's Mill in Anne Arundel Co.<sup>140</sup> According to the advertisement these lands had this advantage, among others, that they lay "convenient to the Barrens, for raising Hogs, &c."<sup>141</sup>

As a range the Barrens appear to have been regarded as a fixture, not subject to change. In the *Maryland Gazette*, March 23, 1769, there is the advertisement of John Campbell, offering

<sup>137</sup> "Scutt's Level," 500 acres, was surveyed for John Scutt, March 28, 1702. The certificate of survey calls for Carroll's or Scutt's Branch (now called Scutt's Level Branch) and for Dead Run (still so called); also for Gwins Falls. (Patent Records for Land, Liber D. D. No. 5, f. 60).

<sup>138</sup> This "outlet," as we have already observed, must have been by way of Soldiers Delight. The name of "Graziers Delight," 892 acres, surveyed for Robert Cross, on Soldiers Delight, October 8, 1774, implies that the barrens of soldiers Delight were a favorite range for stock.

<sup>139</sup> This extensive and well known tract of land occupies a large section of the valley of Western Run. Part of it lies east of the York Road at Western Run. Its northernmost limits lie somewhat south of Western Run at Butler and continue so east for over 2 miles. The survey is recorded at the Land Office, in Liber B. Y. & G. S. No. 1, f. 309.

<sup>140</sup> Green's Mill was at Green's Bridge. This situation has been discussed above.

<sup>141</sup> The author is indebted to Mr. Hemphill for this important item.



for sale a tract of land, containing 155½ acres, "lying in the Forest of Baltimore County, joining the land where Benjamin Barns formerly lived."<sup>142</sup> According to the owner, his land deserved recommendation for the following reason: ". . . as it joins the Barrens, [it] has this particular Advantage, that is can never be deprived of an extensive Range for Cattle and Hogs."

#### ASPECTS OF THE BARRENS, FLORAL AND FAUNAL

Pine woods and stands of pines appear to have been a (late?) feature of the Barrens. In Baltimore (including Carroll) Co. there were four streams called "Piney Run" which rose in the Barrens. The Barrens would have been congenial to aspens. In Carroll Co. there are two streams known as Aspen Run. These are old, original names. The West Fork of the North Branch of Patapsco Falls was known as the Piney Falls.<sup>143</sup> Numerous land records refer to "The Pines" of Deer Creek, or to "The Pines" of Broad Creek, landmarks which were probably conspicuous.<sup>144</sup> Of what species of pine these woods were composed is a question which we cannot answer.<sup>145</sup> The hemlock, which still is to be found, sparingly, on Broad Creek, within the old limits of the Barrens, and on Deer Creek, below these limits,<sup>146</sup> probably once formed occasional

<sup>142</sup> This land was "Campbell's Search," previously considered.

<sup>143</sup> "Cranberry Grove," a resurvey, laid out for John Whips, May 20, 1765, calls for a bounded red oak, "standing at the head of a Valley descending into a Marsh called the Cranberry fork which descends into Piney Falls." (Scharf Papers, Additional Rent Roll of the Western Shore, Baltimore Co.). Cranberry Fork, now called Cranberry Run, meets the West Fork of the North Branch of the Patapsco about one mile northeast of Westminster.

<sup>144</sup> For mention of "The Pines of Deer Creek" see Unpatented Certificates, Baltimore Co., Nos. 93, 109, 311, 1036; also, "Deniston," for John Guyton, Jan. 1, 1761. For mention of The Pines of Broad Creek, see Unpatented Certificates, Baltimore Co., Nos. 230, 825, 1257; also "Reeses Range," for William Rees, March 31, 1748; "Deaver's Project," for Richard Deaver, March 17, 1741. All of these lands were situated in Baltimore (now Harford) Co., in the Reserve. The Pines of Broad Creek stood at or near where the creek passes through Slate Ridge.

<sup>145</sup> Scrub pines, a sign of poor land, naturally come to mind. What looks like the remains of a natural stand of white pines may be seen today on the heights on the northern side of Deer Creek at the Rocks. Pitch pines and short leaved pines grow sparingly in the woods on the southern side of the valley of Broad Creek near the Susquehanna.

<sup>146</sup> On Broad Creek, south side, between Iron Bridge and Boy Scout Camp; on Deer Creek, at what was formerly Wilson's Mill, opposite the residence of Mr. Frank Stokes. (Letter, Mason to author, October 31, 1952). Hemlocks are at home at Castle Fine, about 2 miles above the mouth of Muddy Creek, in York Co. (Mason letter), and a short distance up the valley of Fishing Creek, Lancaster Co., about 5 miles north of the state line (my personal observation).

groves in the Barrens. At that time hemlocks appear to have gone by the name of "yew trees" in Maryland.<sup>147</sup> "The yew trees" were once a landmark on Deer Creek.<sup>148</sup>

One of the outstanding sights of the Barrens must have been great flocks of birds, such as crows, blackbirds and wild pigeons, winging their way across the waste. The classical description of the flight of wild pigeons was written by Colonel William Byrd, of Westover: "The Flocks of these Birds of Passage are so amazingly great, Sometimes, that they darken the Sky,; nor is it uncommon for them to light in such Numbers on the Larger Limbs of Mulberry-Trees and Oaks as to break them down."<sup>149</sup>

Wild pigeons ate acorns and berries. They are said to have been particularly fond of sassafras berries. To judge by local place-names, there were several localities in the Barrens to which they resorted at certain times of the year in order to feast. One of these was the area variously known as the Pigeon Ground, Pigeon Hill, and the Pigeon Ground Glade, at the head of a valley descending northwards towards Broad Creek, at Mill Green, in Harford Co.<sup>150</sup> Another place in the Barrens, which, apparently,

<sup>147</sup> The Oxford English Dictionary cites a letter, written in 1776, in which mention is made of a "species of cedar here called hemlock" which grew on certain rocky islands in Lake George, N. Y. This appears to be a case of what classical scholars call a *hapax legomenon*. No earlier use of the word for abies canadensis is cited. It seems probable that this application of the word hemlock came down to Maryland from the north, and arrived here late. "Baker's Delight," surveyed for John Baker, April 23, 1714, is described as situated in Baltimore Co., "beginning at a bounded red oak standing on the south side of Potapscoe Main river respecting to the eastward a great heap of rocks and *yew trees* on the north side of the sd. falls," (Patent Records for Land, Liber E. E. No. 5, f. 310). Benjamin Buckingham deeded this land to James Hood, July 29, 1758, (Baltimore Co. Land Records, Liber B. No. G., f. 209). This deed calls for the south side of the main falls of Patapsco, "respecting to the eastward a great heap of rocks and *yew trees*." This land lies at what was formerly called Air's Ford, on the Main Falls of the Patapsco, at Hood's Mill, later Ellicott's Upper Mill, on the Old Frederick Road. The State Department of Forests and Parks knows of no stand of hemlocks growing today in this vicinity, but reports that such a stand was cut down to build the new Liberty Reservoir Dam on the North Branch of the Falls, (Letter, Karl E. Pfeiffer to author, December 17, 1953).

<sup>148</sup> On August 10, 1752, there was surveyed for Enoch Ridon, of Baltimore Co., a tract of land called "Rigdon's Reserve," 155 acres, which is described as situated "on the north side of Deer Creek . . . a little above the *Yew trees*." (Unpatented Certificate 1384, Baltimore Co.). Trace of this land is lost to the author, and its situation is unknown. On April 10, 1749, there was surveyed for John Miles a tract of land, containing 20 acres, situated "in the Reserve, on the *Yew Tree Ridge*." (Land Office, Proprietary Leases, Liber B., f. 147).

<sup>149</sup> William Byrd, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

<sup>150</sup> In will of James Brice, Baltimore Co., April 21, 1765, testator leaves to his son, Thomas, a small tract of reserve land called *ye Pidgeon Hill*. (Will Book 3, f. 7, Baltimore Co.). Many other references are in the hands of the author.

owed its name to the fact that it was the resort of wild pigeons, was the Pigeon Woods, which was situated east of the road between Shawsville and Maryland Line, probably much nearer the latter, at the head of a branch of Deer Creek.<sup>151</sup> These poetical place-names are not to be found on modern maps, and it is likely that they are lost to memory.

As to the fauna of the Barrens, there is no reason to believe that it differed from that of other parts of the piedmont region of Maryland, unless the buffalo roamed there before the advance of settlements frightened him away. A shy animal, present, if at all, in small numbers, he might have vanished from every part of the Barrens by about 1730. What with hunters and prospectors invading his domain, surveyors laying out lands, and overseers of highways opening up roads, he would have departed, whither, no man knows. Never a denizen of the forest, the buffalo was found, as late as 1774, in the Glades of the Youghougheny, in what is now Garrett Co.<sup>152</sup> Did he ever range farther to the east in this province? In his *Journal* (1632) Henry Fleete, the Indian trader, writing as his ship lay at anchor near the head of tidewater in Potomac River, notes the fact that buffaloes, among other wild beasts, frequented the woods thereabouts.<sup>153</sup> The anonymous author of *A Relation of Maryland* (1635) mentions buffaloes among the wild creatures which lived "in great store" in "the upper parts of the Countrey."<sup>154</sup> This could hardly mean in places remote to the westward, since the other creatures therein mentioned, the elk, the "lion" (panther), the bear, the wolf, and the deer, occurred everywhere in the province. The Barrens were

<sup>151</sup> "Agreement in Love," surveyed for William Wiley, August 29, 1766, is described as situated "on the South side of the head of a draft of Deer Creek above the Pigion Woods." (William Smith's Survey Book, Bouldin Papers, 1765, City Hall Library, Baltimore.)

In recent times, among the places where wild pigeons congregated in the Fall, were The Soldiers Delight (q. v.) and the Horse Ponds, both in Baltimore Co. The Horse Ponds were some shallow depressions in the ground where water collected in winter, situated between the Great Falls of Gunpowder River and the road going from Quinlin's Corner, on the Belair Road, to the Harford Road, in Hayes's Woods, once a part of the Perry Hall estate. This resort of wild pigeons was famous in its day.

See also "Forked Meadow" and "Anderson's Intention" (Unpat. Cert. 543 and 106, Balto. Co.) re pigeon woods.

<sup>152</sup> See Romeo Mansueti, "Extinct and Vanishing Mammals of Maryland and District of Columbia," *The Maryland Naturalist*, I-II, 9.

<sup>153</sup> "The Journal of Henry Fleete," in Neill's *Founders of Maryland*, p. 27.

<sup>154</sup> *Narratives of Early Maryland*, op. cit., p. 80.

the sort of country, open, but in no sense arid, where the buffalo would have been at home. There, in the grassy glades and natural meadows along the streams we should almost have expected to find him. He used about marshy places and loved "canes and reeds."<sup>155</sup> But if he was ever there in the Barrens, not merely as a "stray," but as a regular visitor, if not as a native, positive proof of the fact has not been found. All that we have to go on is a possible indication, in the shape of the name of a watercourse, taken in conjunction with the presence in its neighborhood of certain curious, shallow depressions in the ground, which used to be pointed out by the older inhabitants, of a generation now deceased, as "buffalo wallows." A place or stream-name is very far from proof of the former presence of an animal at that place to which it is applied, if the possibility of its presence is seriously disputed.<sup>156</sup> Natives of the valley of Buffalo Branch and its vicinity may well have inferred from its name that these depressions were buffalo wallows, when no other explanation suggested itself. These objections are well taken; but, on the other hand, that they were buffalo wallows may be a fact which was never lost to tradition.

Buffalo Branch rises near Yeoho, in the Fifth District of Baltimore Co., within the former area of the Barrens, and joins Piney Run (not to be confused with the Piney Run of Western Run) in the Eighth District, about a mile above Priceville. Piney Run empties into the Great Falls of Gunpowder River at Sparks. The full name of Buffalo Branch seems to have been *The Miry Buffalo*.<sup>157</sup> The name of the Buffalo Branch proves to be one of relatively early date, being first recorded about the time of the settlement of that part of Baltimore Co. in which this stream is situated. It occurs in an order of Baltimore Co. Court respecting roads, issued in August, 1728,<sup>158</sup> and again, in an order of court

<sup>155</sup> Col. William Byrd, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

<sup>156</sup> I have in mind the name of Buffalo Creek in Dorchester Co., Md. (*Mansueti, op. cit.*, p. 9.) A Delaware place-name, namely, that of Dragon Swamp, in New Castle Co., a name of considerable antiquity, is very puzzling. Alligators used to be called "dragons"; but no one will believe that alligators once inhabited this swamp. That the swamp was named for dragon-flies may be possible, but is hardly likely. Country people call them "snake feeders" or "snake doctors."

<sup>157</sup> "Poverty Parts Good Company," surveyed for Thomas Broad in 1760, is described as situated at "the head of a branch called the Miry Buffelo of Piney Run that descends into the falls of Gunpowder." Unpatented Certificate No. 1298, Baltimore Co.)

<sup>158</sup> Baltimore Co. Court Proceedings, Liber I. S. No. 6, 1728-1730, August Court, 1728, Hall of Records, Annapolis.



issued to overseers of roads, in November, 1733.<sup>159</sup> The earliest survey in which we find the name of Buffalo Branch is that called "Absalom's Chance," laid out for William Barney, May 17, 1732, and described as lying in Baltimore Co., "beginning at two bounded white oaks standing in the fork of the Buffeloe branch which descends into the Piney Run of Gunpowder Falls."<sup>160</sup> A tract of land called "Buffeloe" was surveyed for William Anderson, April 26, 1731,<sup>161</sup> "Buffaloe" lies on the south side of the Cold Bottom Road, not more than  $1\frac{1}{4}$  miles northwest of Priceville, within  $\frac{3}{4}$  mile of the mouth of Buffelo Branch, on both sides of that stream.<sup>162</sup> Worthy of mention is a piece of leased land, situated on Buffalo Branch, bearing the curious and suggestive name of "Fat Buffeloe," which was laid out for John Lemmon, June 10, 1761.<sup>163</sup>

The land called "Buffeloe" lies in the vicinity of (if it does not include a part of) a group of "buffalo wallows," which used to be pointed out and so designated by the old people of this neighborhood—shallow depressions in the ground, not otherwise easily explained. Dr. Arthur G. Tracey, of Hampstead, Carroll Co., Md., an experienced antiquary, and, what is equally important, a man well acquainted with farming and with country life in general, first observed these "wallows" some years ago.

<sup>159</sup> Baltimore Co. Court Proceedings, November Court, 1733, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

<sup>160</sup> Patented Certificate No. 18, Baltimore Co.

<sup>161</sup> Patent Records for Land, Liber A. M. No. 1, f. 124.

<sup>162</sup> The situation of "Buffeloe" has been carefully worked out by the author, who believes that the chances of error are slight. This land is entirely surrounded by later surveys, namely, "Cold Bottom" and "Holland's Commission." The former, 390 acres of vacant land, was surveyed for John Ensor, son of Abraham, April 1, 1787, and is described as situated in the Reserve, "Beginning at a bounded Pine tree standing on the east side of the Piney Run near a Bottom called Cold Bottom." (Patented Certificate No. 1132, Baltimore Co.) The beginning of "Cold Bottom" is situated about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles southeast of the beginning of "Buffeloe." The place called Cold Bottom lies on Piney Run above Priceville. It gave its name to the Cold Bottom Road. "Holland's Commission," surveyed for John Francis Holland, March 27, 1787, begins at the beginning of "Buffeloe," and has a boundary on Buffalo Branch." It is a resurvey on two early tracts of land, "Atheliah's Lott" and "Broad's Desire," both surveyed for Thomas Broad. (Patented Certificate No. 2347, Baltimore Co.)

<sup>163</sup> Proprietary Leases, Liber B, f. 23. The late date of this survey would seem to indicate that the name is fanciful and does not relate to an incident, since it is almost incredible that the buffalo, if ever he did frequent those parts, lingered on in this valley until 1761, although a considerable amount of land lying thereabouts remained "vacant." There is a definite possibility, however, that the name bestowed upon this survey was a place-name which dated from the time of the first settlement of that part of the county, or not much later.

Their outlines, he says, have since been blurred by cultivation. He has seen the "buffalo wallows" of the West. Is this a case of an apocryphal attribution on the part of the natives, or one of a genuine tradition? This author believes the chance that it is the latter is too important to warrant the omission of the subject. We have it from Dr. Tracey that the largest of these "buffalo wallows" is situated on what was formerly the Bull farm, near the head of Buffalo Branch, on the road between Yeoho and Cedar Grove. When Dr. Tracey first saw it, it measured about 75 feet across, and had an extreme depth of, perhaps, 8 feet. Smaller, but otherwise similar shallow depressions, locally identified as "buffalo wallows," were situated lower down the valley of Buffalo Branch, and might be seen by persons driving along the Cold Bottom Road.

It is quite possible that the Barrens were the last stand of the panther and the wolf in Maryland east of the Monocacy River. Panthers (also called "painters" and "lions") inhabited all parts of Maryland,<sup>164</sup> but were probably never very common anywhere.<sup>165</sup> They lived in the back country, and, after the founding and spreading of the colony, were probably seldom seen in the necks. Persecuted as they were, from the beginning, by the planters, they must have taken refuge in deep swamps, rocky fastnesses and barrens. The wolf was common everywhere in Maryland until persecution reduced his numbers, and finally exterminated him.

There is a record of the killing of a panther on the branch of a creek of the north side of Severn River some time before October 15, 1675.<sup>166</sup> In or near the Barrens several streams and tracts of

<sup>164</sup> The former existence of the panther on the "Delmarva" Peninsula is credibly based on inference. He must have been there. Very suggestive is the name of a tract of land laid out for Archibald Smith, in Somerset Co., May 12, 1707, and called "Painter's Den." The land is described as lying "on the north east side of a savanah," a likely place for a panther's lair. (Rent Holl, Somerset Co., Md., f. 248, Calvert Papers No. 885.) A more direct piece of evidence is the following. In examining the papers of the Parker family of Northampton Co., Va., the author came across reference to the killing of a panther in that county.

<sup>165</sup> The Maryland Assembly commonly offered rewards for the destruction of wolves, bears, squirrels, and crows, but never to my knowledge a bounty on panthers.

<sup>166</sup> In will of Wm. Crouch, of Anne Arundel (the Severn) River, dated October 15, 1675, there occurs the following item: "I give and bequeath unto my daughter Sarah Jones the wife of Thomas Jones, and her heirs forever a parcell of land called Crouches Calve Pasture together with apaartenances thereunto belonging containing by estimation thirty acres, but not to follow the line to the southward over the branch where James Smith and John Howard kill'd the lyon." (Hall of Records, Wills, Liber 5, f. 163). "Crouches Calve Pasture" lies on a creek formerly called Crouches Creek, a branch of the north side of Severn River.

land bear old names which imply the former presence of the panther in those parts. Modern maps show Panther Branch descending from Hereford into the south side of the Western Prong of Great Gunpowder Falls. This name lays claim to some local antiquity.<sup>167</sup> Another Panther Branch empties into the Northern Prong of the Great Gunpowder Falls, on its eastern side, a short distance below Walker.<sup>168</sup> "Panther Hill" and "Panther Spring" were laid out on this stream.<sup>169</sup> Similar names of surveys situated within or very near the Barrens are: "The Sign of the Panther,"<sup>170</sup> "Painters Hills,"<sup>171</sup> "Painters Level,"<sup>172</sup> and "Panthers Lodge."<sup>173</sup> All of these last date from locally very early times.

<sup>167</sup> "Whitehead's Desire," laid out for Robert Whitehead Dec. 3, 1742, is described as lying in Baltimore Co., "on the South side of the Main Falls of Gunpowder River being part of the lands reserved for his Lordship's use, beginning at a bounded white oak on the south side of the Panter Branch." (Field Book, Col. Thomas White, Harford Co. Hist. Soc. MSS). A tract of land laid out for Whitehead, 1743, lies "on both sides of the Western fork of the Great Falls of Gunpowder River, in his Lordship's reserve . . . at the mouth of a branch called Painter Branch." (*Ibid.*) On Aug. 30, 1774, commissioners appointed to evaluate the land of Aquila Price in Baltimore Co., then in the tenure of Mordecai Price, for Leah, the daughter of the deceased Aquila, found it to contain 200 acres, of which 125 were cleared, and authorized the clearing of 2 acres more to make a meadow "on a branch called The Painter Branch." (Baltimore Co. Land Records, Liber A. L. No. L., 1774-1775, f. 37). I believe these records all refer to one and the same stream, called the Panther Branch, which rises near Hereford.

<sup>168</sup> The name of this Panther Branch does not appear on any map, so far as this author knows; but the author was informed by the late John Mays Little that this stream still (1916) went by the name of Panther Branch, the name by which it was known in old times.

<sup>169</sup> "Panther Hill," surveyed for James Calder, Oct. 6, 1790, lies in the Reserve. The survey calls for Panther Branch, Raccoon Branch, for "Castle Calder" and for "Upper Woody Hill." (Patented Certificate No. 3681, Baltimore Co.). "Panther Spring," surveyed for James Calder, June 6, 1792, calls for Panther Branch, and "Upper Woody Hill." (Survey Book of Baltimore Co., 1771, Peabody Library, Baltimore). Panther Branch is mentioned in the survey of "Littleworth," as returned by James Calder in 1782 (*Ibid.*). "Upper Woody Hill," surveyed for James Calder, June 18, 1784, is bounded by the land of Daniel Curfman (Curfstadt). The survey calls for Panther Branch, Raccoon Branch, and a path with the singular name of Old Hill's Hay Road. (Patented Certificate No. 5036, Baltimore Co.).

<sup>170</sup> "The Sign of the Panther," occasionally called "The Sign of the Painter," (meaning the claw marks of a panther on a tree?), was surveyed for John and Luke Wyley, Aug. 22, 1727, and is described as situated in Baltimore Co., "in the fork between the Great Falls of Gunpowder River and Western Run" (recorded at Land Office). This survey lies northwest of Glencoe, on the York Road, at or near the nineteenth milestone. This milestone stands a little below a crossroads called Verona. A deed, dated October 29, 1813, from John M. Gorsuch to Dickinson Gorsuch, sons of John Gorsuch, calls for a parcel of land or farm composed of "Gorsuch's Retirement Resurveyed" and "The Sign of the Panther," of which the aforesaid Gorsuch died possessed. Mention is made therein of the 19th milestone on the York Road. (Baltimore Co. Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 126, f. 63).

<sup>171</sup> "Painters Hills" was surveyed for John Parrish, Oct. 6, 1731, and is



The usual way of getting rid of wolves was trapping them in pits. The number of Maryland places and streams named for wolf-pits was formerly considerable. A few of these names are still in use. Wolf-pits are occasionally called for in early certificates of survey. In this way we find out that a wolf-pit was situated near a bounded tree of the land called "Daniel's Whimsey," on Jones's Falls, in Baltimore Co.<sup>174</sup> Research in the county land records reveals the fact that the site of this wolf-pit is in or near the Hampden Reservoir, in Baltimore City! In 1726 an old wolf-pit was to be seen near a boundary of a tract of land called "Elizabeth's Choice," on a branch of the head of a creek of Gunpowder River then known as Preston's Creek, but now called Hog Point Creek, or Reardon's Inlet.<sup>175</sup> The site lies between Mangolia and Edgewood, in Harford Co.

Wolves commonly had their lairs in caves and rock-shelters. True caves, perhaps, hardly occurred in the Barrens. Many, if not all, of the rock shelters which we now observe in that part of Maryland have doubtless in their time harbored wolves and

described as situated "on a branch of the Black Rock Run which descends into the Western Run of Gunpowder Falls." (Patent Records of Land, Liber A. M. No. 1, f. 225). Parrish sold this land to Christopher Cole, Jan. 24, 1737. (Baltimore Co. Land Records, Liber H. W. S. No. I. A., f. 59). Cole later took up adjacent land.

<sup>172</sup> "Painters Level" was surveyed for John Bosley, Nov. 7, 1728, and is described as situated "in the Reserve, adjoining a tract of land called Panthers Hill." (Patent Records for Land, Liber I. L. No. B., f. 267). The survey calls for "the fork of Black Rock Run." On Jan. 28, 1760, there was laid out for Jacob Scott a tract of land called "Addition to Painters Level." (Proprietary Leases, Liber B, f. 502). This land is described as "Lying on the north side of Rock Ridge by a branch called Indian Run." On April 17, 1756, Samuel Tipton conveyed to Jacob Scott, then of Pennsylvania, "Painter's Leavell," which he purchased of John Bosley, to whom it was patented. (Baltimore Co. Land Records, Liber B. B. No. 1.) It is evident that these lands lie together in the valley of Indian Run (still so called), the principal branch of Black Rock Run.

<sup>173</sup> "Panthers Lodge" was surveyed for Christopher Cole, March 31, 1743, and is described as situated in the Reserve, adjacent to a tract called "Panthers Hill." (Unpatented Cert. No. 1198, Baltimore Co.). Cole was already in possession of "Painters Hills," (note 166), and to me it seems a fair assumption that "Painters Hills" and "Panthers Hill" are names of the same tract.

<sup>174</sup> Baltimore Co. Court Proc., Land Commissions, Liber H. W. S. No. 4, f. 58: John Cole, Jr., his land commission on a tract of land called "Daniels Whimsey," situated on Jones's Falls, 1737-1741. John Cole, Sr., aged 67, deposed that John Christian showed him "a bounded spanish oak standing in the line of Roberts Park near a woolf-Pitt" (*sic*) and told him it was the third boundary of Daniels Whimsey. Recorded, 1741.

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*, Liber I. S. No. H., f. 262: Deed of gift, Josias Hendon to son-in-law, James Isham, August, 1726, Elizabeth's Choice, 100 acres, situated on the east side of Gunpowder River, "beginning at four bounded white oaks standing near the Middle Branch descending into Prestons Creek and near and (*sic*) old wolfe pit and running thence with a line of Lodowicks Ridge," &c.



panthers, but there is rarely a record of the fact. However, if anyone is curious to see a well-authenticated wolf's den, he may see it in a cavity in the rocks on the eastern side of the North Prong of Great Gunpowder Falls, immediately below the mouth of the Fourth Mine Run (formerly the Mirey Branch), at Parkton.<sup>176</sup> This site, as noted above, was in the Barrens.

Wolves were sufficiently numerous in Montgomery, Baltimore and Harford Counties, as late as 1797-98, to give the lawmakers concern on account of their depredations.<sup>177</sup> It is reliably stated that up to 1830 wolves were hunted by one William Spence along the Susquehanna River in Harford Co.<sup>178</sup> The author has it on good authority that, during a winter of the war of 1812-14, residents of the Green Spring Valley, in Baltimore Co. heard the cry<sup>179</sup> of woves at night.<sup>180</sup> A Harford Co. historian has reported (1880) that the Rocks of Deer Creek was the site of the killing of the county's last wolf; but the event is not dated.<sup>181</sup>

It is not unlikely that by 1850 wolves were extinct everywhere in Maryland east of the Appalachians.

Records of bounties paid by the Baltimore Co. court for wolves'

<sup>176</sup> Patented Cert. 5345, Baltimore Co., Wolf Den, 9 acres, surveyed for James Calder, June 6, 1789, lying in Baltimore Co., "Beginning at the mouth of a Wolf Den lying at the foot of a Great Steep Rock being a Cave on the South East Side of the Northern Prong of Gunpowder falls a few perches below the Mouth of the Mirey Branch where it Empties into the said Prong & running thence north thirty eight degrees west twelve perches to a Large Rock on the other side of the said Prong mark B O 1782," &c.

<sup>177</sup> In 1797 the Maryland Assembly, seeing that wolves were reported to be very numerous in Baltimore Co. and were destroying great numbers of sheep, passed an act to encourage their extermination. (Acts of Assembly, 1797, Ch. VI.) The same year the Assembly passed an Act to destroy wolves and crows in Harford, Montgomery and Cecil Cos. (Acts of Assembly, 1797, Ch. XXII). (See also Mason, *op. cit.*, pp. 43, 44, and Preston, *op. cit.*, p. 71).

<sup>178</sup> Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

<sup>179</sup> It is customary to speak of wolves "howling." In July, 1905, this author, while camping on Rabbit Lake, west of Lake Temiskaming, Ontario, heard wolves *yelping* one evening some distance away in the "bush."

<sup>180</sup> The late Dr. E. Parkin Keech (1844-1924) told the author that he got this information from his mother, Mrs. Susan Scott Keech, wife of the Rev. John Ryder Keech. Mrs. Keech spent a winter in the Green Spring Valley during the war. Mrs. Keech was a sister of Henrietta Scott, the wife of Dr. Samuel Chew, and the mother of the late Dr. Samuel Clagett Chew.

<sup>181</sup> T. T. Wysong, *The Rocks of Deer Creek*, (Baltimore, 1880), p. 2. In 1922 the author was told by the late Edmund Grove Kurtz, of Jarrettsville, Harford Co., father of his friend, Martin G. Kurtz, that he had been informed by old Mrs. Rebecca Smith, "who died about 40 years ago at the age of ninety-eight," that she remembered the time when there were bears and wolfs around and about the Rocks. Wysong mentions here (p. 98) as the then (1880) oldest inhabitant of the Rocks, aged 95.

heads (not infrequently designated as of "Indian killing") are early and sporadic; consequently, they have no bearing upon the question of the diminution in numbers and final extinction of the wolf in that county. In 1674 the county paid the estate of Gothofrid Harmer, the Indian trader of Gunpowder Neck, 2000 lbs. of tobacco for wolves' heads.<sup>182</sup> This is the earliest record for the county which we have in hand. The county levy for November, 1685, shows payment of bounties on 30 wolves' heads. In 1692 the court paid bounties on 56 wolves' heads; in 1695, on 44.<sup>183</sup> The number of bounties paid from 1701 to 1706, inclusive, was 364.<sup>184</sup> After 1706 we have no full record until 1737, when the number of bounties paid for wolves' heads was 46.<sup>185</sup>

The skin of the wolf was of little value, and, like the beaver, it was not the custom to eat him. Legends and fables concerning wolves did not come over to Maryland with the early settlers and attach themselves to the native wolf. He does not seem to have been feared, as he was on the Continent of Europe, and, even when running in packs, he probably seldom attacked man.<sup>186</sup> Traditions concerning wolves may have come down in some old Maryland neighborhoods, but of them this author knows nothing, save what he has already reported. In his own neighborhood the oldest inhabitants had nothing to say to him on the subject.<sup>187</sup>

<sup>182</sup> From an inventory of the estate of Gothofrid Harmer, of Baltimore Co., Hall of Records, Annapolis, Inventories, I, f. 48.

<sup>183</sup> These data were taken by the author from the Baltimore Co. Court Proceedings, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

<sup>184</sup> The manuscript of the Baltimore Co. levies, 1701-1706, is in the Maryland Historical Society.

<sup>185</sup> The Baltimore Co. tax list for 1737 was discovered at the City Hall by Wm. N. Wilkens, of this city, who made a copy of it, which he presented to this Society.

<sup>186</sup> It was no doubt, however, at one time the general belief that a man or a woman, alone and unarmed in the woods, might be killed by a wild beast. Among the proceedings of a court held for Baltimore Co., Sept., 1694, (f. 303 &c) is the deposition of Katharine Lomax, a runaway servant, who testified that while hiding in a loft at Thomas Heath's (on Gunpowder River), one Richard Bright happened by, who inquired for her, and was told by Sarah Heath that "she did believe the varment had destroyed me."

<sup>187</sup> The author's neighborhood is that which is bounded by the two "Falls" of Gunpowder River, the Bel Air Road, and the head of tidewater on the river. Two old people of this neighborhood, the late Mr. Stephen Haven Wilson, of Kingsville, and the author's cousin, the late Mr. Edward Augustus Day, of "Taylor's Mount," talked of wild turkeys, which became extinct in that part of the county in their youth. Nothing else of interest concerning the extinct birds and beasts of those parts ever elicited by this author from the old people, except accounts of wild pigeons. Here and there in our woods there must be remains of wolf-pits; but most of the mysterious holes in the ground one comes across in the woods of Maryland are caused when large trees are uprooted during wind storms.

## SUMMARY

The Maryland Barrens were an extension of the York Barrens of Pennsylvania, with which they made one all along the Line between the Susquehanna and Deer Creek. Their southeastern limits, from Susquehanna River to Deer Creek are, for all historical purposes, well known. Elsewhere, their limits are less definitely known. The author believes that the accounts given by Messrs. Lloyd and Carroll are reliable, and that there is no serious reason to doubt them. The original absence of timber does not preclude the presence of extensive sapling lands, which in the course of time, if let alone, produced timber trees. Hence, many parts of the Barrens, in the later stages, may have presented the appearance of well wooded areas, and were advertised as such in the newspapers. Rich land more often than poor land in the Barrens may have been covered with saplings, but there seems to be no good reason why the better lands should not have been literally barren, or overgrown with bushes of no economic value, since the notoriously rich lands of the western plains, of the Garrett County glades and of the valley of the Shenandoah River were open prairies, wooded only along the watercourses. The appearance of our Barrens, unlike that of these prairies, was forbidding, in general, and may have led even competent observers to underestimate the quality of some of the land situated therein. While it was usually possible for a surveyor to find a mature tree in the Barrens whereat to begin his survey, nevertheless, just as one swallow does not make a summer, a single tree, or group of trees, does not make a forest. Some ancient bounded trees may, therefore, have been identified in recent times in what was once a typical section of the Barrens.

## THE SPELL OF THE BARRENS

The uniform, monotonous wastes of the Earth—the deserts, the Arctic plains, great swamps and marshes—have the power to cast a spell upon the human soul. So it must have been with the Barrens.<sup>188</sup> The spirit which haunts the waste endues it with a

<sup>188</sup> A British poet (Stephen Phillips?) has included among the great, overpowering wastes of the earth the city of London. I quote from memory:

[At Charing Cross]

something infinitely more significant than mere beauty. The lovely reaches of the Thames between Oxford and Hampton court have all but faded from memory, but a scene in Northern Ontario remains, ineffacable: a wet plain, overgrown with tamarack, bordering a lake. On shore, the log buildings of an abandoned Hudson Bay Company's post, long gone in decay. Behind the post, in the distance, a range of low mountains, with bare, polished, granite summits.

The spirit of the waste is sinister, yet wistful; it is morose, yet induces to melancholy. It is, perhaps, a phase of the Divine, yet it does not invite to worship. But let us excuse ourselves for attempting to define it, when others have done so much better. Among them should certainly be mentioned a Canadian official, Duncan Campbell Scott, upon whom the wilderness of the Albany River made an impression which he recorded as follows:<sup>189</sup> ". . . the lonely spirit of the stream becomes an obsession. It is ever-present, but at night it grows in power. Something is heard, and yet not heard: it rises and dwells, and passes mysteriously, like a suspiration immense and mournful, like the sound of wings, dim and enormous, folded down with weariness."<sup>190</sup>

"It seemed that there was carried on the air  
The dreadful, steady music of despair.

. . . . .  
O London, what expanse of sea or land,  
What blistering infinity of sand,  
What australasian bush or arctic plain,  
Or heaving silence of the middle main,  
Has e'er the human spirit so subdued,  
As thine innumerable solitude?"

I do not believe these lines could have been inspired by any one of our blatant American cities, except, perhaps, Philadelphia.

<sup>189</sup> "The Last of the Indian Treaties" (Canadian), by Duncan Campbell Scott, *Scribner's Magazine*, November, 1906.

<sup>190</sup> The original MSS of this article, containing additional references and supplementary data, is available for use in the Library of the Society.—*Ed.*



## REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

*150 Years of Banking on the Eastern Shore.* By ELLIOTT BUSE. Easton, 1955. 168 pp. \$4.

In *150 Years of Banking on the Eastern Shore* Elliott Buse has compiled a history of the Easton National Bank of Maryland of greater range and significance than that of the financial institution itself. What Mr. Buse has written, in short, is a very complete outline of the economic history of the Eastern Shore from the early 1800's to the present. It is, as far as this reviewer is aware, the first such study.

To present the story of this 25th oldest bank in the United States, whose beginnings reach back to 1805, Mr. Buse was not satisfied to confine it to narrow limits. Aware of the close relationship that exists between financial institutions and general business conditions, the author has blended the two with the result that the story of this prominent Eastern Shore bank becomes also an entertaining and valuable economic document for the entire region.

The life story of Easton National is told in full. The bank's eleven presidents, the reader learns, without exception, managed its affairs with such prudence and foresight that for a century and a half it shielded its depositors from loss, a most remarkable and praiseworthy accomplishment.

The material is compiled from original sources, and represents considerable research, not only among the bank's own records, but contemporary newspapers and periodicals. The Enoch Pratt and Peabody libraries, and especially the records of the Maryland Historical Society, were combed for background data.

An index would add to the usefulness of the volume.

RALPH J. ROBINSON

*Baltimore Association of Commerce*

*Franklin D. Roosevelt: The Ordeal.* By FRANK FREIDEL. Boston: Little, Brown, 1954. 320 pp. \$6.

This is the second volume of Frank Freidel's remarkable biography of Franklin D. Roosevelt, and in every respect it lives up to the promise of the first volume. It is extraordinary to find, so soon after the death of so controversial a figure, a biography to which one is tempted to give the adjective "definitive." Obviously, it will take many years before historians can speak with any confidence of having studied fully the events of Roosevelt's life. Ten years after his death, he is still a living campaign issue, both to his supporters and to his critics.

The years from 1918 to 1928, which are described in this book, were dominated, for Roosevelt, by the ordeal of his paralysis, and the struggle to recover the momentum of his political career after the disastrous defeat of his candidacy for the vice-presidency in the Harding landslide of 1920. It would be a bitter partisan indeed who could withhold admiration for F. D. R.'s courage and optimism during these years. He learned much about his profession of politics in the struggle to keep his name before the people in spite of illness and defeat; he also learned much of the necessary arts of compromise and flexibility, the results of which so deeply perplex both idolators and enemies. Roosevelt was a complex man, and a master of the subtle arts of political leadership, especially the knowledge of when to give way, how much and how easily, short of downright surrender of principle. Though such flexibility infuriates extreme partisans on both sides, it does have irreplaceable values in keeping a democracy on an even keel.

Mr. Freidel has maintained an even keel, also, in his interpretation of his subject. Extremists will dislike the book, no doubt, but all others will find that Freidel has done them a great service in presenting a confusing, often exasperating, but always fascinating man with clarity and objectivity which make a pattern out of the many aspects of Roosevelt's character and attainments. This is one of the most valuable books I have read for those who wish a reliable background for understanding the changes of our times. The great architect of New Deal social reform has found a biographer equal to his demands.

JOHN PHILIP HALL

*University of Baltimore*

*Jean-Sylvain Bailly: Astronomer, Mystic, Revolutionary, 1736-1793.* By EDWIN B. SMITH. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1954. 111 pp. \$2.

Born in the Louvre, where his father was *Garde des Tableaux du Roi*, Jean-Sylvain Bailly had unusual intellectual opportunity, even though in the fields in which he attempted to attain success he was largely self-taught. Nevertheless, throughout his life he remained a *dilettante*. His first efforts to achieve recognition were literary. While in his twenties he wrote several plays and a number of poems. Realizing, however, that he had little literary talent, he soon turned to science. Patient, albeit mechanical, astronomical observations and the publication of his findings brought no appreciable recognition as an astronomer beyond election to the Academy of Sciences and a long and unhappy quarrel with some of his more competent contemporaries. As an historian writing on the development of astronomy and on ancient cultures he was at least readable and his work on the history of astronomy has never been completely superseded. Bailly's unorthodox interpretations of several ancient peoples brought him into a

public debate with Voltaire; needless to say Bailly enjoyed the publicity which the pamphlet-debate afforded. At any rate, Bailly was much more successful as an historian of science than as a practicing astronomer. In 1783 he was elected to the French Academy and during the next few years he was appointed to several important royal commissions: one, of which Benjamin Franklin was also a member, to investigate Mesmer's system of "Animal Magnetism" and another to examine a project for a new *Hotel-Dieu*. Foreign recognition also came with election to membership in academies in Holland and other European countries. In 1789 Bailly was but fifty-three years of age and had he not been drawn into the Revolution he might yet have established himself as an historian of high repute. His selection on April 21 as elector for Chaillot was the first step in his rise in Revolutionary politics which was to culminate in his becoming mayor of Paris. On November 12, 1793, he was executed as traitor to the Revolution.

Mr. Smith has given a picture of the intellectual development of what might be described as a minor *philosophe* and a not-quite-great participant in the first stages of the Revolution. Despite the great research efforts on the part of the author—as evidenced by the careful documentation and by what would seem must be a complete bibliography—Jean-Sylvain Bailly never becomes a real person. Begun as a doctoral dissertation (p. 428), a doctoral dissertation this volume remains. To use a term borrowed from the seminar, Mr. Smith never quite got out of his footnotes. About one-fifth of the text consists of direct quotations from Bailly's writings and this suggests the work's greatest strength as well as weakness, for it may be regarded, in a sense, as an edited selection from Bailly's writings. For those who would care to read further in the writings of the subject of this literary biography, Mr. Smith has appended a checklist of Bailly's published major works.

GLENN WEAVER

*Connecticut College*

*The St. Augustine Expedition of 1740.* Columbia: South Carolina Archives Dept., 1954. 182 pp.

This report is both interesting and valuable for the student of colonial American history. It gives, with much detail, a picture of the touchy relations between the mother country and the colonies and even between the colonies of South Carolina and Georgia, at a time when the southern English mainland settlements were seriously endangered by Spanish pressure from Florida. While the issues treated in the report, an investigation of the failure of an expedition commanded by General Oglethorpe against St. Augustine, are not in themselves of great moment, either then or now, the numerous affidavits and other first-hand accounts of events and people give the reader much information and insight which would be missing

from a more summary account. John T. Lanning's introduction is most helpful in guiding the reader through a mist of detail. The reprint has been handsomely made and the documents are well edited. The index leaves something to be desired, in that some entries have endless lists of references against them, with only rarely any sub-indexing to help the reader find what he wants. For example, there are seventy-six page listings for "Carolina Regiment," none differentiated from another. Surely the making of an index can be done in some way to avoid such an imposition upon the reader! With this minor complaint, I would compliment the South Carolina Archives Dept. for publishing so full and often diverting an account of a minor incident with major implications.

JOHN PHILIP HALL

*University of Baltimore*

*After Saratoga: The Story of the Convention Army.* By WILLIAM M. DABNEY. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1954. 90 pp. \$1.

This little volume of 90 pages is well written and extremely well documented. It gives in considerable detail the story of an almost forgotten chapter in American history, *i. e.* the six-years sojourn within the thirteen colonies of the nearly 6,000 British and Hessian soldiers who made up Burgoyne's army. Many persons do not know that these foreign troops remained as "internees" in America until the Revolutionary War was over because they "capitulated" to General Gates in 1777 under the terms of a military convention. This document provided that the surrendered army "should be returned to Great Britain upon condition of not serving again in North America during the present contest."

But—the convention did *not* say exactly *when* this return should take place,—and thus began the travels of the "conventioners" who were lodged at one time or another in eight of the thirteen states.

Because of the long drawn out controversy between the American Congress, and the British Crown, which would not "recognize" Congress, much correspondence of an official nature, accumulated. Perhaps one of the most unusual bits of documentation used in this study is the frontispiece, a copy of a letter from Sir Henry Clinton to General John Burgoyne, containing a secret message of greater urgency. Clinton, kept a copy of the letter, and its key. These are now in the "Clinton papers," at Ann Arbor, Michigan.

The story of the Baroness de Riedesel, who with her three little daughters, accompanied her husband, the commander of the German troops, adds much human interest to the narrative. The reviewer agrees with the writer in these conclusions.



"The relation between the Americans and the British and German conventioners was an enriching and enlightening experience for both sides. The journals kept by the veterans of the Saratoga campaign, and the letters they wrote, make up a discerning commentary on American society and institutions."

IDABELLE W. THOMAS

*State Teachers College, Salisbury*

*The Lost Account of the Battle of Corinth.* Edited by MONROE F. COCKRELL. Jackson, Tenn.: McCowat-Mercer, 1955. 78 pp. \$1.50.

Major Matthew F. Steele's classic *American Campaigns* says of Shiloh "it is the hardest campaign of all for the student to solve." But the whole southwest area might be put in the same category in Civil War times, and Mr. Cockrell, the Illinois student of the Confederacy, thinks Corinth, Mississippi (twenty miles from Shiloh), might almost be classed with Steele's hard problem. *American Campaigns* disposes of Corinth in fifteen lines: Federal occupation of the town May 30, 1862, the decision of Earl Van Dorn, the Confederate general in command, to drive Union troops out, the assault of October 3rd, the stand at a redoubt, Fort Robinette (actually a hillock near the railroad station), and then—as Steele puts it—"by noon it was over and the Confederates were retreating." But Cockrell, who reprints his own study of 1954 as an appendix, speaks more fully; he has been lucky to find in an old house in Corinth this "lost account," whose author is unknown though his picture is shown. In addition to these 25 pages, Cockrell adds three pages from the court-martial proceedings against Van Dorn (in which Maryland's own Confederate, Gen. Lloyd Tilghman, took a part), an analysis of the troops at Corinth—235 Confederates killed, including the heroic Texan, Col. William F. Rogers, 1,263 wounded, and 1,528 missing—, a sketch of Rogers by Mrs. M. R. Bolton, his daughter, and finally, Mr. Cockrell's own 21-page account, first delivered as a lecture at Lake Forest Academy in 1946. Tucked away in the cover, however, is the gem of the collection, Mr. Cockrell's fine-scale map of the battle, worthy of framing on a West Point wall.

ROGER THOMAS

*Hall of Records, Annapolis*

*The Schwenkfelders during the French and Indian War.* By GLENN WEAVER. Pennsburg, Pa.: The Society of the Descendants of the Schwenkfeldian Exiles, 1955. 19 pp.

A tiny band of the followers of Caspar Schwenckfeld, a contemporary of Martin Luther, sought refuge in Pennsylvania in 1734. Mr. Weaver, in this pamphlet, tells the story of their arrival and settlement, and of the difficulties encountered by this pacifist group during the French and Indian War. The pamphlet is an enlightening footnote to the story of religious toleration in America.

*Doc Holliday.* By JOHN MYERS MYERS. Boston: Little, Brown, 1955. 287 pp. \$4.50.

Although less well known today than such characters of the old West as Billy the Kid, Wyatt Earp, and the James brothers, John Henry Holliday had quite a reputation in his own day. Mr. Myers' book gives ample evidence of the latter and should help to correct the former. Seen through the author's eyes, "Doc," drinker, gambler, and outlaw though he was, becomes something of a hero to the reader, too. Devotees of the West of the late 19th century will find in this volume a solid addition to the books of the period.

The tradition that Holliday studied dentistry at a school in Baltimore is accepted by the author, though no corroborating evidence is known to exist.

# NOTES AND QUERIES

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## A ROMP THROUGH THE RECORDS

By JOHN H. SCARFF <sup>1</sup>

Anyone embarked upon the course of historical research among the English parish records will encounter many baffling shoals, sudden turns and reaches leading nowhere. But he will not be doomed always to unfruitful quest, and often from the vantage point of several later centuries he will encounter many gay and lively accounts that were far, I fancy, from amusing to those originally involved.

A recent revival of interest in public records has encouraged more attention to their preservation. Parish and county records are becoming better known, better arranged, and local historical societies are even publishing indices, lists, and calendars. One can, for instance, find transcriptions of the Oxfordshire records at the Bodleian Library. There one can escape the cold, drafty and dusty muniment rooms and, seated, work at ease in warmth and comfort.

One will find that in many parishes records, because of the frequent changes in administration and consequent neglect or delegation of custody to those who have neither interest nor knowledge, invaluable documents have disappeared. The present writer's researches have been greatly aided and supplemented by Mr. W. E. Tate, who in *The Parish Chest* (Cambridge University Press, 1951) has collected a mass of hitherto neglected material, which I use freely.

In one parish, "in the past" the records were used for lighting fires; in another "many years ago" in a dispute the documents were thrown into the fire by one of the disputants. Once again a number of old papers and other relics were destroyed on the ground of their age! At H—— the records were "mouldy and illegible and were all burnt." Mr. Sidney Webb states: <sup>2</sup> "Each of the 11,000 parishes existing at the beginning of the last century should have as well as the registers, 'churchwardens' Accounts from the fourteenth century at least, Surveyors of Highways Accounts from the seventeenth century, vestry minutes possibly from the sixteenth and certainly from seventeenth or eighteenth centuries, and poor relief accounts for at least a couple of centuries, and the preservation of a representative series of parochial records in any recognised custody is a rare exception."

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Scarff spent a week in Oxford in the past winter searching old parish records, including transcriptions in the MSS room of the Bodleian Library.—*Ed.*

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in Tate, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7.

Even so in the scattered parishes and counties of England there must be even now a colossal quantity of priceless historical material. It would be of interest to the genealogist, the antiquary, the economic and social historian, the biographer and to the student of agricultural history or the development of institutions. To anyone with time it would be a fascinating quest. The church buildings themselves are rewarding even though swept clean of every vestige of record by the zeal of some parish official or the spring cleaning fervor of some vicar's wife or daughter. There is always the possibility of finding a mass of material dating back to mediaeval times by means of which one could obtain a kind of key hole view of the life of humble folk of past centuries.

Sometimes discoveries are tragic or pathetic—even comic. I here transcribe some interesting entries:

“Margerie Deconsonne the wife of Bartholomew Deconsonne . . . fiftie yeares of age a tall slender woman, providently thrifty, perhaps I should say stingy shee leaving this life on Monday was buried on Tuesday the 30 of April (1588).”

“Willm Forrest about 60 years of age a cuning fellow I will not say crafty, meager in faith, extravagant in hope of eternal life, if one may make an inference from words, which are the index of the mind, but in handie woorke as ditchinge, mowinge, sheip-clippinge & such like skilful: was buried December XXVIIIth Tuesday.”

From Winchester in 1669 is the note: “She was sunge to her grave by the Quire” and a later entry in another hand “Merry doings.”

Many missing registers suffered such fates as burning, loss, lending without return, destruction by fire, water, damp, lightning, silverfish, rats, mice, or parish clerks. Other typical notes: removed with the vicar's books, used by the village grocer for wrapping his wares, abstracted by the churchwardens, purloined by the lord of the manor, thrown on a dung heap, made into tea kettle holders by the curate's wife, thrown on the fire by the parson's wife in a rage with her husband, cut into labels by a sporting parson for addressing presents of game to his friends. In one place odd leaves were given away to visitors as souvenirs, in another they were “burnt by the parson in singeing a goose.” One set was given to the old women in the village “to wrap their knitting pins.” Perhaps the most grotesque of all fates that overtook any series of registers was that of a set which was buried in the churchyard to swathe round the corpse of the parish clerk's grandmother. Another set had their entries obliterated during the accouchement of the parson's pet greyhound bitch, who had chosen the parish chest for her whelping and whom the parson declined to disturb. Again as late as 1824 a register was taken away and never returned, the culprit being, of all people, the archdeacon!

Among the most interesting of the burial entries are those relating to burials in wollen under the act of 1666 and a more famous successor act of 1678, which provided that: “no corpse of any person (except those who shall die of the plague) shall be buried in any shirt, shift, or shroud or



anything whatsoever made or mingled with flax, hemp, silk, hair, gold or silver, or any stuff or thing, other than what is made of sheep's wool only . . . or be put into any coffin lined or faced with . . . any other material but sheep's wool only." Heavy penalties were ordered upon those neglecting to comply with it. Affidavits were required and recorded. These Burial in Woollen Acts must form one of the classical instances of protectionist legislation. It was not until the 18th and 19th centuries that burial in coffins became universal.

The poor of the various parishes were always troublesome. Sometimes generosity was shown and "meddisonne" and clothing was paid for. A pathetic series of entries runs:

1677 a paire of bodies for Dorithy Routh	3s. 4d.
Two shifts cloth and makeing and a yeard of cloth for white clothing for Dori: Routh	3s. 11d.
A paire of stockings and sum meddisonne for her	1s. 0d.
A sute of shows for Dor. Routh	5s. 6d.
Dorithy Routh buriing	2s. 10d.

In 1776 the overseers in every quarter of one parish were instructed "to take account of all paupers' goods which may require weekly pay" and inventories of their effects were made so that the parish should not be cheated "when they died and the goods fell to the parish." There was a certain generosity in the treatment of pauper children:

1724 For bread & beer at ye children's breaking up at Christmas	9d.
1738 Pd for 12 pound of cherries for ye children in ye house	6d.
1744 Gave to ye children at Fair	2s. 8d.
Gave the children & old people in the work house Christmas presents	7s. 6d.

There was an attempt as late as 1830 to make the poor-law relief more or less self-supporting. The minutes record a resolution that "the paupers of the parish be taught to knit stockings, especially the women and old men."

The orthography of 17th and 18th century parish officers is often eccentric in the extreme and the searcher must be prepared to translate for instance:

and setterer	into	etc.
arter davis		affidavit
born on the bear		borne on the bier
cervaers		surveyors
cilling a notter		killing an otter
cinges aremes		king's arms
disses		decease
double cats		duplicates

feyseytashyn  
 frant and sens  
 jelan orspitle  
 phes  
 waichin ye sorples  
 yngeounseon

visitation  
 frankincense  
 jail and hospital  
 fees  
 washing the surplice  
 injunction

Since in an average parish the registers may date back to the 17th century the inexperienced researcher must expect some difficulty in deciphering the handwriting. At first it appears incomprehensible, but it is remarkable how understandable it becomes after a day's practice. It bears a close resemblance to the German Gothic script of the 20th century. Certain pairs of letters have only minor distinguishing characteristics that may easily at first be overlooked.

The amateur historian is often puzzled in dates by the difference between Old Style and New Style, the beginning of the year of grace, and that of the regnal years of successive rulers, etc. A list or table of Saints' Days would be useful, the dates for Easter, and, in London, the Lord Mayor's Day.

I hope these few observations will prove useful to anyone contemplating historical research in England. As soon as one has learned his way around and knows what the various libraries contain the search is interesting and often rewarding. Not till a return home will a Baltimorean discover that most English published records can be quickly and easily found in the Peabody Library.

### DAVY CROCKETT AT "OLD SPRINGDALE"

By HELEN H. LEEDS TORRENCE and ROBERT M. TORRENCE

"Old Springdale," at York, Pennsylvania, was the country place of the Honorable Charles A. Barnitz,<sup>1</sup> which he built in 1820-1821 and was so named by his wife, Margaret Grier Barnitz, because it contained some seven springs and a small valley. It remained in the possession of his descendants until the late 1940s, after which it fell into unappreciative hands and was demolished. For over 120 years, it was the meeting place for brilliant and famous people and was known for its unusual social and intellectual activities. The celebrated Davy Crockett was a visitor here.

Charles A. Barnitz was born September 11, 1780; died January 8, 1850; admitted to the York County Bar April 3, 1810; elected a member of the Congress of the United States, 1833-1835,<sup>2</sup> when this District embraced Lancaster and York Counties.<sup>3</sup> It was during this Session

<sup>1</sup> The original name was Barnidt, Dermstadt, Germany.

<sup>2</sup> *Biographical Dictionary of the American Congress* (1949), p. 817.

<sup>3</sup> John Gibson, *History of York County*, p. 443.

that Barnitz and Davy Crockett became friends. At this time Charles Barnitz was recognized as the head of the York Bar and represented the Penn Family interests in "Springettsbury Manor," serving as such until his death. He was also president of the York Bank. His term as Associate Judge expired in 1840, after which he was Chief Burgess until 1848.<sup>4</sup>

While Barnitz is a German name, Charles was mostly Scotch, since his mother was Mary McLean and his grand-father was the well known Archibald McLean, who, with his brothers, as chief associates, surveyed the Western portion of the Mason and Dixon Line in 1763-1767.<sup>5</sup> Prior to this, during 1760-1763, they surveyed the "Middle Point" between Cape Henlopen and the Chesapeake Bay; located the great "Tangent Line" through the peninsula; traced the "Circle" around New Castle, Delaware. After completing the Mason and Dixon work, they also established the latitude and longitude for the City of New York.<sup>6</sup>

In 1811 Charles A. Barnitz married Margaret Grier, a daughter of Colonel David Grier who studied law under the famous James Smith, a Signer of the Declaration of Independence who served under General Washington during the Revolutionary War.

It was in connection with an important lawsuit concerning the Penn Family interests in Springettsbury Manor, tried before Chief Justice, John Marshall, that Barnitz must have met and become friends of Henry Clay and Daniel Webster, who were attorneys vs. the Attorney General.<sup>7</sup>

The previously related facts have been stated in order to better understand the references to be noted in the letter to follow, it having been written in March, most probably in 1834, by David Grier-Barnitz, aged about 18, a son of Charles Barnitz, to David's sister, Mary M. Barnitz, who was visiting in Cincinnati, Ohio. David was a member of the first graduating class at the Pennsylvania College, at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, the oldest Lutheran College in the United States, established in 1832.

This letter was written from "Old Springdale" at a time when he was studying law. It should be remembered that Davy Crockett's visit here was but a short time before he started out on his famous "Tour" starting on April 25, 1834. The letter, of which one sheet evidently is missing, follows:

"... her rounds at an awful rate. After starting, it was all easy enough and, I then danced and waltzed all the evening, and at two o'clock I left the party. But, the most tragic part of my story remains to be told.

"After I had gone to the Ball, a young married couple came to Mrs. Walker's<sup>8</sup> to board and, as my bed was the only double one, she put them into my room. She left the servant to tell me, but unfortunately he fell asleep. As soon as I came home, I went up into my room and, it being dark in the room, undressed silently and jumped into bed on the

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<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 96, 97, 436, 578.

<sup>5</sup> *Encyclopedia Brit.*, Vol. 17, p. 841.

<sup>6</sup> Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 395.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 98.

<sup>8</sup> In Gettysburg, Pa.

top of Mr. and Mrs. Guest!!! She, poor soul squealed like a stuck pig and he, as he told me next morning, thought heaven and earth were coming together. By this time, Posey, your friend, had awakened and called me into the room. Mr. Guest must have thought it somewhat of an intrusion, A few words set all straight next morning and we had a hearty laugh about it.

"I was at Washington 3 weeks and I could have staid there with pleasure 3 weeks longer, but the higher powers had decreed otherwise and I was obliged to return to musty law.

"Aunt Nancy<sup>9</sup> and myself were at Gettysburg last Feb<sup>y</sup> to attend the anniversary of the Phrenakosmian Society and to hear a most splendid address from the stomach (for I am an Epicurean, in doctrin) of G. W. Barton, Esq<sup>r</sup>., of Lancaster.

"I found Gettysburg and the people thereof very much altered. I found the girls all paired off every evening, so that wherever I went I found myself *de trop*.

"I attended the 22nd Ball in Gettysburg and such a ball! It was exactly like a fancy ball, except that in a fancy ball, everything was made queer by effort. There were some ladies from Baltimore who waltzed, so with some difficulty we raised a Spanish dance. In a short time, another Spanish dance was called for by the company and I expected we would be the only performers, but, lo and behold, on looking behind me, I found all of the company paired off. Now, the fun of it was that not one of them knew the waltz step, but *à la* Gettysburg, they must not be out done, so they made a complete stag dance of it.

"And now I suppose you are tired of various matters and wish me to stick to home.

"Papa<sup>10</sup> came home last Friday, bringing with him a French Horn for me and a little violin for Phersy.<sup>11</sup>

"On Saturday, we had the celebrated Davy Crockett to dinner. He is the biggest fool I ever saw, although he sometimes does say something smart. He says, 'People say it takes a man of sense to go to Congress. I don't know whether I have any or not, but if I had'nt good sense, I've had darned good luck.'

"The whole household are busy today fixing the house for the reception of Mr., Mrs. and Miss Webster<sup>12</sup> who are to be here on Tuesday.

"The weather has been intolerably bad for the last six weeks. We have had but one sunshiny day and that was by accident, altogether.

"The girls in town are all well, and none of them about to get married, which is more then some of my sisters can say. By the bye, I would advise you to him, of the rueful countenance, who 'sighs o'er the withered rose, etc.,' especially if he is rich. You know then I can be a groomsman and we can take a trip to Niagara at his expense.

<sup>9</sup> Ann Grier.

<sup>10</sup> Charles A. Barnitz, David's father.

<sup>11</sup> McPherson Barnitz, David's brother.

<sup>12</sup> Senator Daniel Webster, his wife, and daughter, Alice.



"Well, I am tired of writing and will only beg you to give my love to Mary Jane, Sally Ann, cousin Mary, cousin Jane, Mr. Cope and all the rest of the family and to believe me to be,

"Your affectionate brother,  
"David G. Barnitz."

#### APPENDIX

It will not be amiss to append a few lines about Crockett's mother's birthplace. All that David Crockett knew about the birthplace of his mother, Rebecca Hawkins, was that she was born in Maryland, between Baltimore and York, Pennsylvania. It appears that no effort has been made to learn where this place was.

At the Maryland Historical Society, may be found two volumes, "Births, Marriages and Deaths," in St. John's P. E. Parish, at Old Joppa, then in Baltimore County, and in St. George's P. E. Parish, now in Hartford County. The index, from page 1 to 211, covers St. John's Parish and from 211 to 460, covers St. George's Parish. In both volumes many Hawkins names appear:

In Volume 2, p. 257: "Joseph Hawkins, born 23 April 1728, son of John and Rebecca Hawkins." "Rebecca Hawkins, born 23 February 1729, daughter of John and Rebecca Hawkins." Is it possible that Davy Crockett's mother was a daughter of this Joseph Hawkins?

Since these volumes also contain many references to the Crocketts, it is certainly indicated that Old Joppa was the location in Maryland where Rebecca Hawkins was born.

R. M. T.

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#### SIDELIGHTS ON A BANK HISTORY<sup>1</sup>

By LOUIS F. CAHN

The Farmers Bank of Maryland (now the Farmers National Bank) opened its doors for business on September 17, 1805. Unlike many "old" banks who have gone through a series of mergers, the Farmers has operated under an unbroken continuity of management during a century and a half. The preparation of its Sesqui-Centennial History, published this year, involved a search of all available records and resulted in the unearthing of a wealth of interesting incidents. In the actual writing of the history, the problem became one of selection and condensation, and many fascinating "sidelights," of no vital historical or financial significance, had to be discarded in the interest of brevity and readability. If I were a

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<sup>1</sup> In place of a review of the author's *Sesqui-Centennial, 1805-1955, The Farmers National Bank of Annapolis*, these entertaining sidelights are printed.—Ed.

Gibbons or Prescott, addicted to footnotes—the delight of the historian and the bane of the reader—some of these juicy morsels might have been preserved. Perhaps this brief article will rescue them from a return to the limbo in which they reposed for so many years, and will reward the reader with a few chuckles.

### THE DEAD HORSE MYSTERY

The minutes of August 9, 1815, record that "the cashier was instructed to pay Abel Tucker up to \$50 as compensation for a horse which died in the service of the bank." Who was Abel Tucker? His name does not appear as an officer or employee of the bank. How did the horse die? And, what was the bank doing with a horse, anyway? The mystery invites a guess: On August 25, 1815, when the British fleet threatened Annapolis, all the Bank's books and movable property were sent to the Frederick Town branch for safety. After October 5 they were moved back to Annapolis. Perhaps Mr. Tucker's steed was a casualty of "Operation Panic." Certainly, at this date, there will be none to deny it!

### DISTANT RELATIONS

Although the Farmers Bank of Maryland, in Annapolis, had an Easton branch,<sup>2</sup> the relationship between the parent bank and the branch across the Bay was so distant that neither bank knew the scale of salaries paid by the other! In July of 1819, they agreed to exchange that information. A year later, the salaries of *both* branches were reduced by a special meeting of economy-minded stockholders! Coincidentally, the president of the Farmers Bank at Annapolis was Henry *Harwood*, and the president of the Easton branch was Nicholas *Hammond*. I doubt if the bank was known as the "Hammond-Harwood House."

### SAFEGUARDING THE SPECIE

After the State Legislature, in January, 1805, chartered the Union Bank of Baltimore and the Farmers Bank, they reverted to a suspicious distrust of *all* banks, and passed a resolution providing that neither the Treasurer of the Western Shore nor the Treasurer of the Eastern Shore were to deposit state funds in *any* bank unless specifically authorized by Act of Legislature. Instead, the money was to be kept in the "iron box" in the State Treasury.

Thirty-one years later, the facilities for safeguarding specie had not improved much. The Minutes of September 7, 1836, record: "the Committee appointed to examine and count the specie nailed up in boxes and kegs, reported that they had discharged that duty and found it all correct."

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<sup>2</sup> See review on p. 254 of this issue.—*Ed.*

## DEATH OF A TITAN

The guiding genius of the bank in its earliest days was Jonathan Pinkney, the first cashier. He was on the premises literally night and day, after the Bank, in 1812, bought the Davidson House (formerly Reynolds Tavern) and remodelled it as a home for the cashier and his family. Mr. Pinkney held office for 23 years, until his death in January 1828. When he died, the Board of Directors voted that every director and officer was to wear a band of crepe on his left arm for a period of 30 days.

## IF YOU CAN'T BEAT 'EM, JOIN 'EM

Originally the Bank printed its own notes from its own plates on a press in the banking house. Prior to 1842 no notes of less than \$5 were issued. Under the Act of 1842, the Bank began to print \$1, \$2, and \$3 bills, for which the old plates were retouched. This proved a false economy because counterfeit notes began to appear. Apparently Philadelphia was the headquarters of the counterfeiters because the Minutes of February 21, 1843, and also those of September 10, 1844, tell of the capture of counterfeiters in that city. Due to the frequency of the counterfeiting of one dollar bills, the bank decided to withdraw them from circulation and to discontinue the engraving of all its bank notes. Recognizing that Philadelphia was the center of the engraving industry—both licit and illicit, they awarded the contract to Draper & Co. of that city. This required a change in the by-laws of 1805 which had required all notes to be printed in the bank. Incidentally, bank notes of the Farmers Bank of Maryland turned up as late as July, 1916, and September, 1916, when two \$10 bills, dated 1826, were presented.

## LATE THANKSGIVING

The Minutes of December 11, 1844, record that the Bank was ordered closed for Thanksgiving Day on *December 12*—evidence that "monkeying with the calendar" was *not* a New Deal innovation.

## LAND AT 35¢ PER ACRE

When the Northern Pacific Railroad defaulted on its bonds in 1876, the Farmers National Bank held \$25,000 worth. Under the provisions of the "Livingston Plan" of reorganization, the Bank received 32,000 acres for \$10,000 in bonds. This land was so remote and in such unknown territory, that the Bank had to engage an agent in North Dakota to find the land and arrange for its sale. Purchasers were hard to find, and those who did buy often failed to produce enough in crops to keep up their payments and the Bank was forced to repossess the property. It was not until December 26, 1906—thirty years later—that the last of the land was finally sold. However, the bank realized a profit of \$2389.67 over the value of the bonds.

## VIRTUE IS ITS OWN REWARD—OR IS IT?

From the earliest days, the Bank had been the depository of the funds of the Anne Arundel County Commissioners and School Commissioners. In 1908 a rival Annapolis bank attempted to secure the County deposits by offering to pay interest at the rate of 1% per annum on the daily balances. The County Commissioners declined the offer, declaring their confidence in the institution which had safeguarded their funds for over 100 years. Whereupon the Board of the Farmers passed a resolution, reading, in part: "Whereas, while deeply appreciating the wisdom of said action and the confidence which it indicated in this institution, which has for one hundred years safeguarded the public funds of this county and has in every possible way upheld its credit, this bank is unwilling that said confidence should in any way be of possible disadvantage to the public, therefore be it:

"Resolved, that this bank hereby offers to pay *two per cent* per annum on such daily balances. . . ."

This was a gesture of good public relations, par excellence. Unfortunately, however, it is *not* the end of the story. Three years later, in June, 1911, the County Commissioners decided to divide their deposits, two-thirds to the Farmers National Bank, and one-third to the rival institution, and demanded interest *at the rate of 3%*!

"IF . . ."

Historians who love to muse on what would have happened "if . . ." will find this item intriguing. In June, 1918, the Bank received a letter from the Comptroller of the Currency asking their views on proposed legislation by Congress to create a Government Guarantee of Deposits up to \$5000 per account. The Board replied with an emphatic "NO" and authorized the sending of telegrams to Senators Smith and France and to Congressman Mudd urging opposition to the bill.

The bill was never acted upon. IF it had passed, would the financial history of the 1930s have been a more cheerful one? IF. . . .

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*Martin, Luther, "Autobiography"*—The following paragraphs from *Modern Gratitude* (pp. 161-162) form a conclusion to the autobiographical account which appeared in the June issue (pp. 152-171):

"To all who have witnessed the affectionate respect and attention I universally receive, and ever have received, when on the Eastern Shore; with almost every worthy family residing whereon, from Cecil county to the Capes of Virginia, I have long been acquainted, no arguments need be urged to convince them, that no part of my conduct, at any time, while I resided there, had been thought base or dishonourable. But as the time and place of the unknown infamy is confined to Queen-Ann, and ante-



cedent to my removal therefrom—to the inhabitants of that county, who were then living, and, who then knew me, I will make my appeal—With the Tilghmans, Earls, Wrights, Courceys, Emorys, Downes, Carradines, Garnets, Hoppers, Nicholsons, Phiddimans, Bruffs, Kents, Hawkins's, Thomas's, Dames, Bordleys, Claytons, Jacksons, Halls, Blakes, Chathams, Bryans, Browns, Seneys, and many other respectable families in that county, I became acquainted immediately on my settling there and have been acquainted with them and their descendants ever since.

"With some of these who are yet living I was in habits of great intimacy; particularly with Mr. William Bruff, now of this city, who then resided in Queen-Ann, who has served his country as a member of the council of safety for the Eastern-Shore, during the revolution, and since that time for some years as speaker of the house of assembly, and with Cols. Kent and Phiddiman and Mr. Dames.

"Of young gentlemen, who were under my care while I taught the Free-school, who are now fathers of families and living, I recollect the names of Messrs. William Tilghman, Edward Coursey, Henry Coursey, Thomas Lane Emory, Gideon Emory, Francis Rozier, William Keene, and Colonel Samuel Wright."

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*Civil War Cannon*—At the Virginia Military Institute we have a number of cannon used during the War Between the States and among them a howitzer, which after its services in battle was assigned the duty of serving as the Evening Gun at V. M. I. This howitzer fired a salute to the colors for seventy years until a modern field artillery piece replaced it.

There was originally a companion to this howitzer. It was lost during the Battle of Antietam according to our records, and we believe that it may still be somewhere in Maryland. It is 60 inches in length with a ball like handle at the breach end—the circumference of the breach 30 inches—the circumference at the muzzle 25 inches—and its trunions measuring 4 inches in diameter—On the top surface above the trunions is the Seal of Virginia.

It would be a great service to the Institute, if you would help us to locate our cannon. We would like to have it placed by the graves of the cadets who fell on the field of honor at the Battle of New Market, May 15, 1864.

Should the cannon be located, we would send an escort of cadets to bring it home.

WILLIAM MARKS SIMPSON  
Virginia Military Institute, Lexington, Va.

---

*Fairbrother-Kerr*—Will greatly appreciate any leads to published or unpublished material relating to Anne, wife of Francis Fairbrother of Annapolis, before and after the Revolution. The couple's daughter, Elfida married a John Kerr; their daughter Anne became ward of John Steele, a grand uncle living at Fells Point, Baltimore, 1800-1810.

WILLIAM A. KINNEY

1345 28th St., N. W., Washington 7, D. C.

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*Booth*—Information is requested concerning parentage and ancestry of the two wives of Junius Brutus Booth (1796-1852), namely Mary Christine Adelaide Delanny (d. 3-9-1858 in Baltimore) and Mary Ann Holmes (d. 10-22-1885 in New York).

R. D. MUDD, M. D.

1001 Hoyt St., Saginaw, Mich.

---

*Davidson*—Need leads to material about Samuel Davidson, associated for some years before and after the Revolution with his brother John in an Annapolis mercantile firm. Samuel (1747-1810) removed to Georgetown pre-1789 and was a large landholder of D. C. property when Washington was laid out. Would like confirmation of report that he set up in business in Vienna, Dorchester Co., ca. 1773 after wide Eastern Shore travels, also regarding his life in Annapolis. His legatees included neices Mary Davidson Harris (Mrs. Henry R. Chapman of Charles Co.) and Margaret Davidson of Annapolis, and John Harris, son of the predeceased Eleanor Davidson (Mrs. Thomas Harris, Jr.). Nieces were the children of John Davidson of Annapolis and Eleanor Strachan, the latter possibly of St. Mary's Co.

WILLIAM A. KINNEY

1345 28th St., N. W., Washington 7, D. C.

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*Murray-Hunt(t)*—Can someone please give me date of birth and marriage of Richard Alfred Murray (b. prob. Charles Co. ca. 1810). His wife's first name was Adeline. Who was she? What was his parentage and what was hers? Also date of birth and marriage of George A. Hunt(t) (b. prob. Charles Co. ca. 1820). Who was his first wife and what is her date of birth and parentage? Who were George A. Hunt's parents?

TIMOTHY A. COLCORD

5759 13th St., N. W., Washington 11, D. C.

---

*Warfield-Chaney*—Would appreciate any information which would prove Benj. Warfield (who married Rebecca Spurrier) was the son of John who married Mary Chaney Warfield in 1761. Would also like dates of births and deaths.

MRS. WM. B. WINGO

1230 Manchester Ave., Norfolk 8, Va.

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*Back Issues*—The Society always welcomes the return of any and all back issues of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* that members may not wish to retain.

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#### CONTRIBUTORS

MR. FOSTER teaches in the public schools of California. ☆ MR. BELL is Assistant Editor, *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*. ☆ MRS. CLARK and her son have previously contributed to the *Magazine*. ☆ The late DR. EDMUNDSON and the late MR. ROBERTS were students of local history. ☆ An officer of our Society, MR. MARYE completes in this issue his study of the Barrens.

*50th Year of Publication*

# MARYLAND

## HISTORICAL MAGAZINE



Blakeford, Queen Anne's County

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
BALTIMORE

*December · 1955*



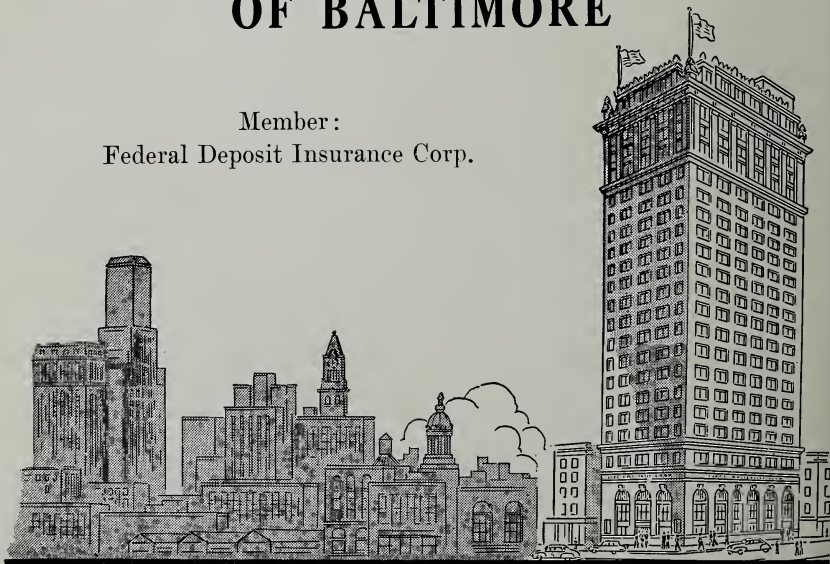
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FRANCIS C. HABER, *Editor*

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The Magazine is entered as second class matter, at the post office at Baltimore, Maryland, under Act of August 24, 1912.

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## THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

H. IRVINE KEYSER MEMORIAL BUILDING

201 W. MONUMENT STREET, BALTIMORE 1

GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE, President; JAMES W. FOSTER, Director

The Maryland Historical Society, incorporated in 1844, was organized to collect, preserve and spread information relating to the history of Maryland and of the United States. Its threefold program includes

1. Collection of manuscript and printed materials, maps, prints, paintings, furniture, silver, fabrics, maritime items, and other objects of interest;
2. Preservation of these materials for the benefit of all who care to enjoy them, and exhibition of items which will encourage an understanding of State and National history; and
3. Spread of historical information relating to Maryland and the rest of the country by means of addresses at the Society's home by authorities in various fields; addresses to outside groups by officers and staff of the Society; publication of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, a quarterly containing original articles about State history; *Maryland History Notes*, a quarterly bulletin of news of the Society and other local historical items; the *Archives of Maryland* and volumes of the series "Maryland in World War II" under the authority of the State; and the series of books entitled "Studies in Maryland History."

The annual dues of the Society are \$5.00, life membership \$100.00. Subscription to the *Magazine* and to the quarterly news bulletin, *Maryland History Notes*, is included in the membership fee as well as use of the collections and admission to the lectures. The library, portrait gallery and museum rooms, are open daily except Sunday, 9 to 5, Saturday, 9 to 4. *June 15 to Sept. 15*, daily 9 to 4, Saturday, 9 to 1.

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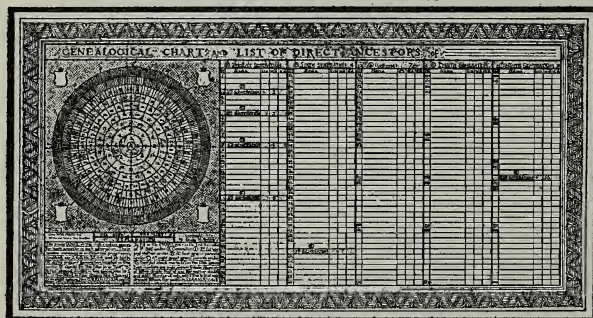
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# MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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## AFTER FIFTY YEARS: A REVIEW OF THE BEGINNINGS

By ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT

FOR any serial, the attainment of a half-century of life is in itself worthy of notice; and when a quarterly magazine, the organ of a "learned" society, not only has lived throughout so many years without a break in continuity, but also has reached, at this point in its career, a higher degree of usefulness than it has before exerted, and won for itself the respect of contemporary opinion, congratulations are indeed in order. In this article, which is offered as a little *Festschrift*, I shall attempt to present a brief account of the background, the beginning, and the early years of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*; based, in large part, on material printed in the *Magazine* itself. If I am not mistaken, while there have been various sketches of the history of the Society and its activities, the story of the *Magazine* has been presented only incidentally. That story may not present, as to the earlier years,



any such adornment as that which marks its recent past; but, to my thinking, it certainly and copiously points a moral.

From the time of its formation and incorporation, the Maryland Historical Society, like most such bodies, laid stress upon publication as one of its activities. As the decision to put forth a magazine constituted an innovation, we must review briefly what had been done before 1906. First, there had been published a considerable number of routine records;—the constitution and by-laws, lists of officers and members, reports of annual and other meetings, "discourses," and the like. For the most part these were in the form of pamphlets; but also the Society had undertaken a few volumes, some of real historical value. The last annual report printed, before the *Magazine* had come on the scene, was that for 1904. A second group had its beginning in 1867, as a result of the gift by George Peabody of \$20,000. One half of the income from this was to be devoted to publication. This made possible the well known *Fund Publications*. The last volumes of this series appeared in 1901. A third form of publication was that of the *Archives of Maryland*, of which the first volume appeared in 1883, with Dr. William Hand Browne as editor. This fine series, happily continued to this day, did more than anything else to give the Society an honorable place among its sister societies, and to win the approval of the historical world in general.

For our present purpose, one very practical aspect of the Society's relation to the *Archives* series and to the *Fund Publications* must now be noted. In 1900, the bonds in which the Peabody Fund was invested were called. The capital sum, when re-invested at the prevailing rate of interest, brought in only about half as much income. For some time past, it had been the practice to spend a part of the half of the Peabody Fund income allotted to publication in the *purchase* for members of the Society of volumes of the *Maryland Archives*—to which, under the by-laws, all members who paid their dues were entitled. Purchase was necessary, because the arrangement with the State did not permit the free distribution of the *Archives*. The reduction in the income thus created a dilemma. The Society could *give* the copies of the *Archives* to the members, or it could continue to use half the Peabody income to publish, but it could not do both. After much discussion the Society's constitution was amended so as to transfer

the cost of purchasing the *Archives* volumes to the pocketbooks of such members as wished to buy them. This released the income from the Peabody Fund.

In 1901, at the beginning of the new century, the constitution of the Society was amended by the establishment of a Council to be composed of the officers of the Society and a representative of each of the standing committees. The Council became the main driving wheel of the organization and gained greater power over its affairs. The standing committees were rendered more active through the constant vigilance of the Council.

For the purpose of this study, the committee in which we are most interested was of course that on Publications, which had three members. When the *Magazine* was established, and for several years before, the members were Henry Stockbridge, Clayton C. Hall, and Bernard C. Steiner. Judge Stockbridge of the Supreme Bench of Baltimore, and one of the most respected men of the city, had come into the Society in 1885; and together with Col. J. W. M. Lee and General Bradley T. Johnson, he had signed the report sent to the Assembly when the first volume of the *Archives of Maryland* was completed.

Mr. Hall, actuary and lawyer, and for a time a graduate student at the Johns Hopkins, had published a volume—*The Lords Baltimore and the Maryland Palatinate*—based on lectures delivered at the University. He also had edited a volume on Maryland in J. F. Jameson's series "Original Narratives of Early American History."

The third member of the Publications Committee, Bernard C. Steiner, was the youngest in years, but in his history-writing, especially in regard to Maryland, more prolific than any member of the committee, or indeed of the Society. He was of Maryland stock though born in Connecticut. After graduating from Yale, he received his doctorate in history at the Johns Hopkins University and won a degree in law from the University of Maryland. He had succeeded his father as librarian of the Enoch Pratt Library and, besides teaching law, was on the history faculty of the Johns Hopkins. Thus, he brought with him not only historical scholarship and the skills of a modern librarian, but also strong ties of cooperation with two other cultural institutions.

There can be no question as to the high competence of a committee so constituted. But it must be borne in mind that the choice

of its members had been made for the supervision of the publication of the *Archives*. That its duties would be extended to the *Magazine* was a fortunate circumstance.

At just what time the idea of publishing a magazine began to engage the attention of individual members cannot be stated, but that a demand was evolving is shown by the records as far back as 1902. The most weighty influence may very well have been the force of example, for both Maryland's wealthy neighbor to the North, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and in war-impooverished Virginia, the Historical Society of that state had successfully launched and maintained quarterly magazines.

In the Maryland Society official comment as to attempting a magazine was at first negative on the ground of lack of means. But at the meeting December 14, 1903, on the motion of Judge Stockbridge a special committee of five was authorized which should solicit subscriptions for the enlargement of publication funds. Also, Judge Stockbridge brought up the question whether free distribution of the *Archives* should be suspended,—a matter we have already noted.

On February 8, 1904, were to be held, according to custom, the monthly meeting of the Society and, following this, the Annual Meeting. The attendance was small and the Annual Meeting was postponed to March. The explanation of this startling deviation from precedent is to be found in the fact that a large section of Baltimore—an area extending to within a few blocks of the Athenaeum where all the Society's valuable possessions were preserved—was still smoldering in the barely conquered Great Fire of the previous day. But before the monthly meeting adjourned Mr. De Courcy W. Thom brought into the open the proposal for the publication of a magazine.

On his motion a committee of five was appointed to report in detail on the ways and means of establishing a magazine. A month later, on March 14, was held the Annual Meeting. The President, Mendes Cohen, emphasized the diminished income of the Library and Publication Funds, due to the prevailing low rate of interest on the Society's endowment. He expressed the hope that "a plan may be devised by which the income available for the use of the Committee on Publications may be sufficiently increased to warrant a further and continued publication of the Society's papers. Whilst owing to the recent conflagration and

the vast destruction of property involved in it, success in this direction is not as promising as it might have been, no effort will be spared to effect it."

The project for a magazine took a step forward when, at the meeting of May 9, 1904, Mr. Thom, for his special committee, presented a report. This paper, unfortunately, seems not to have been preserved. The minutes record, however, that the report was not then and there adopted but, on Judge Stockbridge's motion, was referred to the Council. For the Council, Judge Stockbridge reported, at the meeting of November 14, that Mr. Thom's proposal had been approved but with the proviso that a guarantee fund of five hundred dollars for each of the first three years of publication be secured in advance. With this addition the Society accepted the recommendation and authorized the Council to make a written appeal for the guarantee fund.

But Mr. Thom, it appears, wished to do more. At the meeting of January 9, 1905, he was not present, but the Recording Secretary presented a new resolution which Mr. Thom had drawn. By this it was proposed that the constitution and by-laws be amended to provide for a standing committee of seven for the magazine. This committee should elect from its own members one who should be editor and manager of the magazine and who should be a member of the Council. This resolution of Mr. Thom went to the Council; from which body came, at the meeting of February 13, 1905, the sharp response that "it [the Council] does not see, at this time, the necessity of amending either the Constitution or By-laws as suggested by the resolution."

From this resumé it may be deduced (1) that there had been no decision to bring the *Fund Publications* to an end; (2) that the project for a magazine had received approval, and the proposal for a general increase of the Publications Fund had been superseded by the plan of raising a guarantee fund for the magazine; (3) that the Council had flatly refused to remove control of the magazine and the selection of an editor from the hands of the Committee on Publications into the hands of a new committee.

It was a year later, at the Annual Meeting, February 12, 1906, that announcement was made by the Committee on Publications and by the Council, that there would be a *Maryland Historical Magazine*. The only remaining hurdle, which was crossed a little later, involved the matter (discussed earlier in this paper) of dis-



continuing the free distribution of the *Archives* to members. What was said at this meeting as to the purpose of the *Magazine* was elaborated in the modest "Salutatory" printed in the first number; which stated that the usefulness of such a *Magazine* had been well recognized and frequently urged upon the Society, but until recently had not seemed to be practicable.

As constituting material for the *Magazine* were suggested:

- I Original papers, contributed to the Society, valuable, but too short for separate publication; it was hoped that the number of such contributions would be increased.
- II Selections from the rich store of historical documents belonging to the Society.
- III Genealogical notes of real interest and recognized authenticity.
- IV "Notes and Queries" and other features as found expedient.
- V The Annual Report and communications to the members.

Finally it was stated that the editorial direction of the *Magazine* would be under the efficient management of Dr. William Hand Browne, well known to every member of the Society as the Editor of the *Maryland State Archives*.

In 1883, when he was invited to undertake the editing of the *Archives of Maryland*, Dr. Browne was not a member of the Historical Society, and had written no book upon the history of Maryland except a textbook for schools. It must have been known, however, that he had been a careful student of Maryland's colonial period, and in the following year there was published the first edition of his small but valued book, *Maryland, the History of a Palatinate*. After the acquisition of the Calvert Papers, the Society (he had been elected a member in 1886) called on him to edit two of three *Fund Publications* based on that collection. Since 1879 Dr. Browne had been connected with the Johns Hopkins University; in 1906 he was Professor of English Literature, closely associated with James W. Bright. Dr. Browne was a man of a restricted, rather than a wide circle of friends; but among those who appreciated his friendship were Professor Gildersleeve, Lawrence Turnbull, Richard Malcolm Johnston and Sidney Lanier. All of these had known him when he was editor of the magazine which bore for a while the title, *The New Eclectic*,

and later became the *Southern Magazine*. Politically like many Baltimoreans he had been in deep sympathy with the Confederacy. His career, after the war, witnesses to the fact that Baltimore, in these years, was a city of reconciliation. This was the man who, at the age of seventy-eight, accepted the invitation to "direct the editing" of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*; superimposing this task upon his duties as editor of the *Archives* and as university professor.

Before Dr. Browne retired, in 1910, from the editorial direction of the *Magazine*, he had seen the first four volumes through the press. The opening number, on its appearance, was greeted by other journals with cordiality, if not with any great enthusiasm. In content, the several numbers followed closely the lines which had been suggested in the "Salutatory." For "original papers" Dr. Browne had a quite sufficient supply, including some which had long been awaiting publication. One had been read before the Society in 1846! As had been hoped, the number of papers did increase. Many documents were printed "from the Society's collections" and from the "Calvert Papers." Important, extensive, and representative of research in England is the correspondence of Governor Eden, in the second volume. For genealogical material a rich source of supply was afforded by Dr. Christopher Johnston. Long a practising physician, he was later a professor of Oriental Languages at the Johns Hopkins, with Maryland genealogical research as an avocation. The department of Notes and Queries was hardly a flourishing one. Reviews were few. But the proceedings of the Society received full attention: including not only the Annual Reports, but the minutes—usually abridged, of the monthly meetings. The list of members appeared annually, but without the constitution and by-laws.

The Guarantee Fund, the establishment of which had been made a condition precedent to the undertaking of the *Magazine*, was duly raised; and, as it was drawn upon only to make up the recurring deficiencies between the cost of each volume and the monies available, the fund lasted throughout the whole of Dr. Browne's editorship. But soon the Society faced financial difficulties.

In 1907 President Cohen had talked plainly at the Annual Meeting. The only funds of the Society which could be called an endowment amounted to a little more than \$25,000. The

income from this was insufficient. He urged the need of an increase in the number of members and a greater endowment; of a new location and a completely fireproof building.

Five years later when Mr. Cohen declared his unwillingness to accept another term as president, he pleaded the number of years that he had served the Society and the fact that he would soon reach the age of eighty-two. One is touched with a feeling of regretful sympathy for the aged President, when he was also compelled to tell the Society that another appeal to the members, approved by the Council and the membership, drew response from only 79 of the 515 members and produced (in the first instance) less than \$700. In the letter of appeal it had been clearly stated that the first ill consequence of a failure to raise the necessary funds would be the abandonment of the *Magazine*.

Towards the close of the year 1916 the clouds lifted, when the announcement was made that, as a memorial to Mr. H. Irvine Keyser, his widow had provided a new home for the Society. Included in this munificent benefaction was the former residence of Enoch Pratt, together with a new fireproof building for the library. It was not until 1919 that the Pratt Mansion and the new building were dedicated.

In the number of the *Magazine* in which the dedication ceremony was described, there was published also an article with the heading "Endowment." Therein it was clearly asserted that the new home involved new duties and much greater expenditures, which the Society could not possibly meet with its present resources. There had been an increase in membership and some large contributions, and in 1921 a vigorous campaign for endowment was carried on. Also, on the removal to the new quarters the deserted Athenaeum had been rented; but essential repairs involved an expenditure that left little profit. The Society was obliged to borrow money, and then to put a mortgage on the Athenaeum. At last in 1924 that old building which, in 1845, had cost about \$45,000, sold for three times that sum. Thus, one may say, the Society's earliest benefaction, the old building, made it possible to live in the new home. By 1930 the Society and the *Magazine* with it, were ready to begin a new life.

It was throughout this battle for survival that Mr. Louis H. Dielman, with the moral support of the Committee on Publications, served not only as editor of the *Magazine*, but also, for most

of this time, as Chairman of the Committee on Library. When first appointed editor, he was, and for a while continued to be, assistant librarian at the Pratt Library under Dr. Steiner. Soon he was called to the Peabody Library, of which in time, he became Librarian. Thus the Society again depended for editorship of the *Magazine* on someone whose livelihood and whose duties lay in another institution.

When, after twenty-seven years, Mr. Dielman retired from the editorship, Dr. J. Hall Pleasants, on behalf of the Committee on Publication, paid him a warm, generous and well-deserved tribute; which is, or should be, remembered by readers of the *Magazine*.

In the constructive era which is identified with the administration of George L. Radcliffe, as President and James W. Foster as Director, the *Magazine* has grown to higher standards and greater influence than was possible in the days of its inception and during its early struggle for existence. But for the future of the *Magazine*, and of all other activities of the Society, it will be well not to forget the moral that this present story points out: which is, that the work of able men, to reach its full effectiveness, demands the adequate financial support that only the wealth of the community can give.



# WILLIAM VANS MURRAY ON FREEDOM OF RELIGION IN THE UNITED STATES, 1787

Edited by ALEXANDER DECONDE

FROM the days of Roger Williams and Cecil Calvert to the present, religious liberty has been one of the notable and distinguishing characteristics of American life and of American democracy. And in no state has this tradition been more distinctive than in Maryland. While true that the famous "Act Concerning Religion," passed by the Maryland Assembly in 1649 and usually referred to as the "Toleration Act," granted only a limited freedom of conscience, it was nonetheless a significant step toward a fuller freedom in religion. In actual practice, moreover, in the years following the founding, a wide religious tolerance prevailed in the colony. Later, and for the remainder of the colonial period in Maryland as elsewhere, religious liberty under a state-supported church was in part curtailed. Yet, a marked characteristic of life in the American colonies continued to be religious tolerance.

With the coming of the American Revolution new strides were taken in most of the states toward a greater freedom in religious belief and public worship. This trend carried beyond the Revolution and into the period of the Confederation government. But the Congress of the Confederation, in general, looked upon religious concerns as being in the province of the state governments.<sup>1</sup> Consequently, it is with freedom of religion within the

<sup>1</sup> For fuller discussions of religious freedom in the United States and in Maryland in the periods under discussion see William W. Sweet, *Religion in Colonial America* (New York, 1943), pp. 238-330; Evarts B. Greene, *Religion and the State: The Making and Testing of an American Tradition* (New York, 1941), pp. 53-61, 75-83; Matthew P. Andrews, *The Founding of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1933), pp. 143-144, 152-156, and by the same author, *History of Maryland* (New York, 1929), pp. 92-100, *et passim*. For a clear recent interpretation of religion in the Confederation period see Merrill Jensen, *The New Nation* (New York, 1950), pp. 130-134. Professor Jensen concludes: "The steps in the direction

states that William Vans Murray (1760-1803), writing in 1784-1785, concerned himself.

Before touching upon Murray's essay, however, it would be well to give some attention to Murray and his background. Surprisingly, even though he is one of Maryland's more illustrious early sons, and an important political and diplomatic figure in his own right, little is known about the formative years of his life; to this day he is a misty figure in our early history.<sup>2</sup> A staunch Federalist from Dorchester County on Maryland's Eastern Shore, Murray in the last decade of his life played an important role in government, and during most of this Federalist era was near the center of the political stage. He was closely associated with the prominent men of his day, and with most of the nation's leading statesmen, such as George Washington, James Madison, John Adams, and even with America's adopted son, the Marquis de Lafayette. Yet he was never sufficiently the center of attraction to have the spotlight of history centered directly on him; somehow he seems always to have remained in the shadows.

From fragmentary material on his early life, it seems clear that Murray was born in or near Cambridge, Maryland, apparently in 1760. In Maryland he was brought up within the Episcopal Church, was nurtured in an environment of relative religious liberty, and received the early education which prepared him for the study of law. Shortly after the peace between England and her former colonies in 1783 he went to London to continue his education. There, in April, 1784, he entered the Middle Temple to study law. Remaining in England for three years, he broadened

of religious freedom and the complete separation of church and state were thus halting, but the direction was sure and the purpose was clear."

<sup>2</sup>There is no published biography of Murray, and even in manuscript sources material on his early life is scanty. Brief sketches of his life can be found in the *Dictionary of American Biography* XIII, 368-369; in "Letters of William Vans Murray to John Quincy Adams, 1797-1803," ed. by Worthington C. Ford in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1912 (Washington, 1914), pp. 347-51 (this is an obituary written by John Quincy Adams which first appeared in the *Portfolio*, January 7, 1804, and was reprinted as a prefix to the letters); and in Clement Sulivane, "A Sketch of William Vans Murray," *Publications of the Southern History Association*, V (March, 1901), 151-158. Sulivane's work is not reliable in a number of particulars. For a brief account of Murray's diplomatic career see Alexander DeConde, "William Vans Murray and the Diplomacy of Peace: 1797-1800," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLVIII (March, 1953), 1-26. Most of the sources on Murray are still in manuscript, of which the most useful are those in the Library of Congress, the National Archives, the Princeton University Library, the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, and the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

his education by experience in the life of a complicated and stimulating urban society, by travel on the European continent, and by instruction in areas other than law. While abroad he acquired not only an English wife, but also, apparently, his taste for politics and political theory.

After completing his education in England, and while still in his twenties, Murray returned to the United States to serve several terms in the Maryland General Assembly. He resigned this state post when his home district elected him to the Second Congress of the new federal government. Serving for three consecutive terms in the House of Representatives, he earned the reputation of being an able young statesman. Active in debate and recognized by his contemporaries as one of the leading orators of his day, he rose high in the Federalist party.

At the close of his third term in office, Murray was appointed by President Washington to the post of Minister Resident to the Batavian Republic, one of the satellite republics created by revolutionary France. While he was minister at The Hague, and in considerable measure through his initiative, the Quasi-War (1798-1800) with France was ended. In the settlement he bore a major responsibility for averting what most likely would have been, for the recently founded United States, a disastrous full-scale war.

Murray was also one of the three Americans who negotiated the Convention of 1800 with France, which freed the United States from its first "entangling" alliance and cleared the path to the momentous Louisiana purchase. Later, he alone negotiated the exchange of ratifications of the treaty. Not long after Jefferson and his Republican followers won control of the government, Murray was recalled. He returned to his home in Cambridge, Maryland, in December, 1801. He is generally considered to have died there in December, 1803, and is supposedly buried in Christ Episcopal Church. Neither his place of death nor his place of burial, however, is definitely known.

Murray's essay on "Religion" was not published separately, but was one of six essays written by him while he was in his middle twenties and still a student in the Middle Temple (1784-1787). Dealing principally with the state constitutions and governments of the newly independent United States under the

Articles of Confederation, the essays were published anonymously in London in 1787 under the title *Political Sketches*.<sup>3</sup> Only in this sixth and last essay did Murray concern himself with "universal religious freedom."

Even though Murray was an Episcopalian, his discussion of religion reveals how deeply he was influenced by the temper of his time, by the rationalist thinking of the Age of Reason, and even by Deism. This is shown by his argument that religion is founded on natural rights. Man should be natural, hence reasonable. It is unreasonable, unnatural, to be intolerant; religious restraints violate the law of nature. Therefore, to conform to the law of nature, to be reasonable, man should be tolerant.<sup>4</sup> Although many men of his time favored tolerance, and although his ideas in many ways are but a reflection of the American, particularly the Maryland, experience, Murray went far beyond the ideas on religious freedom then held by the bulk of his fellow citizens. He made a case for true religious liberty by advocating religious freedom for all, for non-Christians as well as for Christians of all sects.<sup>5</sup> In this, his essay is another valuable document which helps to shed light—particularly in the not-yet-understood period of the Confederation government—on the intellectual-religious background of the American democratic tradition.

<sup>3</sup> [William Vans Murray], *Political Sketches, inscribed to His Excellency John Adams, Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States to the Court of Great Britain*, by a citizen of the United States (London, 1787), 96 pp. There is in the Corner MSS, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, a manuscript copy of the essays.

For an historical interpretation of the *Sketches* see Alexander DeConde, "William Vans Murray's *Political Sketches*: A Defense of the American Experiment," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLI (Mar., 1955), 623-640.

<sup>4</sup> For a discussion of Deism and natural religion in the United States see Merle Curti, *The Growth of American Thought*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1951), pp. 156-61. For the European background see the chapter: "The Religion of Reason" in John H. Randall, Jr., *The Making of the Modern Mind*, rev. ed. (New York, 1940), pp. 282-306.

<sup>5</sup> Murray, in his enthusiasm for his country's virtues, exaggerated the extent of religious freedom to be found in the American states. When Mathew Carey, sensitive Roman Catholic, reprinted the *Political Sketches* in his *American Museum*, II (Philadelphia, July, 1787), pp. 220-248, he added a footnote to Murray's comments on religious liberty. He remarked: "The writer is here in error. Protestants only in some of the states, are eligible to offices of trust and emolument," p. 245 n.



RELIGION <sup>6</sup>

Religion in America presents a singular prospect.<sup>7</sup> Its progress hath kept pace with morality, and is not the less sublime because it's history hath not been marked by those interesting scenes which have rendered Europe the theatre of error and blood shed. It had ever been held in the light of moral persuasion. Force, restraint, and penalties, were monsters not found within her mild lights. The diversity and freedom of the Christian sects had poised every schism and party on that point of equality which precluded jealousy. This was an attainment that philosophy had only study'd, and had scarcely expected.

By the Revolution, religious doctrines received no shock. Superstition and bigotry had nothing to lament, and nothing to rouse at. These monsters were left unchained, and were therefore harmless. The clergy in America did not constitute a political body. They were not, as in England, and Rome, one of the states of the empire.

The relics of old superstitions, which serve as apologies for modern errors and fanaticism, were there unknown. There were no precedents of forefathers to mislead the imagination of posterity, and authorize them in a blind acquiescence under ideal sanctities. The novelty of all things precluded the prescription of error.

When Christianity was transplanted from Great Britain to the new world, it assumed a novelty, both consonant to its new region, and correspondent to its original simplicity. It dropped those claims of controul which were yielded by ignorance, to the ambition of artful pontiffs and proud ecclesiastics. Of all its superstitious rites it was entirely stripped; and in this state of native simplicity, its arrogant interposition in civil cases, and legislative concerns, was as little thought of as necessary. The government of the passions, and the mind, was its object. True moral persuasion, dignify'd by revelation, was its great characteristic. It had all the modesty and gracefulness of its Holy Virgin. The institutions which supported its public rites, were not endangered by that mixed cloud of ignorance and superstition, which hath every where else enveloped the plainest truths with mystical exhibitions. The luminous area of the human mind that conceived such institutions, secured them from the corruptions to which similar designs had been exposed.

That under such enlightened ideas of society there should exist no alliance between the formalities, and tenets, of government, and of religion, is not surprising. A change of situation had disembarassed both from the trammels of opinion under which they had in Europe been most erroneously united and confused.

<sup>6</sup> "This Tract upon Religion being simply the result of rational investigation, and dictated by the purest principles of Christianity and of the *amor patriae*, cannot be imputed to any motive less worthy, than universal religious freedom, nor in the eyes of the philosophical examiner, in the smallest degree, impeach the religious Faith of the writer of it."—W. V. M.'s footnote.

<sup>7</sup> For purposes of legibility and clarity, spelling in some instances has been modernized.

It was in this country, that the light of truth divided the duties which spring from relations to the divine and human natures, and separated the heterogeneous mixture of temporal and spiritual ideas. Perhaps through imitation, and the gradual operation of philosophical causes, the originalities and harmonious combinations of religion in the United States may infuse, in the mind of European nations, the true spirit of religious freedom. But even in the United States some alterations of moment on this point are demanded by the spirit of their constitutions.

It is not a little surprising, that when the ardor of reform is extending itself in America, from political revolutions to those of religion, it should act on so limited a scale, as to preclude all but Christians, from the blessings of an equal religious freedom to which all men are equally intitled. If not restrained by the novelty of power, nor blinded by the prejudices of Europe, how much honor and advantage would not her character acquire by the adoption of so enlightened a policy!

By the constitutions, all sects of Christians are intitled to equal freedom. This is wise; and, when compared with what we see in most countries of Europe, it is highly liberal. There yet remains one step; when this is gained, America will be the great philosophical theatre of the world. Christians are not the only people there. There are men, besides Christians, who while they discharge every social duty are shut from the rights of citizenship. If this continues it will have been in vain that the world hath offered the experience of her follies and her crimes, and that human nature hath been so long devoted to its own errors. If there be a man in the empire excluded from the fullest rights of citizenship, merely on account of his religion, the law which excludes him is founded in force, and is a violation of the laws of nature.

It is in vain that artful men argue from policy to the necessity of religious discriminations—of tests—capacities, and invidious qualifications. Policy is a poison that hath acted on the political constitutions of states, to the destruction of their principles, and finally, to the subversion of their liberty. It is often little more than the passion of the day sanctify'd by law and sophistry. But men are not now in the suspicious state of hostility which once may have lent some apology for injustice, and particular exclusions.

*"For modes of faith let graceless zealots fight,  
"His can't be wrong whose life is in the right."\**

That government was made for man and not man made for government, is a truth that should stand foremost in all political ideas of religion.

In the adoption or creation of ecclesiastical institutions, general principles have in other countries either escaped observation, or have been intentionally obscured or rejected, as too immutable for the purposes of a policy, which temporized with change, and made error subservient to the gratifications of ambition. Hence systems have been expedients, modes of

\* Quoted from Alexander Pope, *An Essay on Man*, Epistle III, lines 305-306.

faith the politic indulgence of prevailing weaknesses, or the instruments of slavery.

America will never sacrifice to imitation the new duties she owes the human species, and for the discharge of which heaven hath offered her situations singularly happy. It is to nature she stands pledged for an impartial trial and a fair stage. She will not narrow the foundation of her happiness by mutilating religious freedom. Her schemes will be as liberal as her fortunes have been glorious. Her situation is the first ever offered to mankind, wherein every right of nature explored by the eye of science may be indulged in a latitude unembarrassed by unsubstantial forms, and unshackled by civil or religious despotism. Opinion has not yet thrown obstacles in the path of investigation, nor obtruded on the minds of men a fashion of thinking unconnected with the philosophy of things. Prejudice against particular sects is unknown. It is in this moment when the principles of nature prevail, that America ought to spread wide the bottom of her future character; and nothing will contribute more powerfully to this end, than that unison of all her citizens and unison of their common rights, which equal religious freedom will create.

Unless the governments assume to themselves an inquisitorial authority, they cannot view the citizen in any other point of responsibility to them, than that which is formed by his civil relation. Until they prove an authority derived from the laws of nature, or delegated from heaven, they cannot claim a cognizance of religion. As well might they ordain laws of honor, of taste, of sentiment, and of ethics, as prescribe the emotions of a devout heart.

Government is a modification of the laws of nature. These are unacquainted with the distinctions of religious opinion; and of the terms Christian, Mahometan, Jew, or Gentile. The constitutions, if they pursue a just direction, will not violate common sense; nor cherish by force, those injuries done to nature, which the light of the present day is about to disperse. They will throw down every barrier erected by the despotism of impassioned ignorance, and admit every sect, whom they admit at all, to the rights of citizenship. The governments are obliged to legislate agreeably to the constitutions. The constitutions tolerate none but Christian sects; yet the policy of the governments teaches them to invite all the world, while their disingenuous fears, by shutting out from the most inestimable rights, half the human species, counteract their views and real interests. So little and so gloomy a policy will be despised; and as the struggles of America have endeared her to the world, her principles on all great points will manifest a mind universally illumined. She will prove by a freedom of universal religion, however vary'd in name or mode, that civil government is not supported by trick and mystery; and that civil happiness does not depend on undetected deceptions.

Religion hath not been so much interwoven, as inserted in her constitutions. It makes no part of her state policy; and if it can be proved to be a subject totally beyond the reach of human cognizance, there will be no danger in removing every section which gives her governments the power of legislation over its rights. If after an alteration of this sort, govern-



ments still continue to consider themselves the guardians of religion, their guardianship will extend to an impartial protection of every sect on earth. If they exclude any sect, it must be because they possess the power delegated from such as has a right to part with such rights; or because they may have discovered a sect, or class of men created out of the cognizance of the laws of nature. But by these laws all men are equally bound. Government can be justify'd only in its acts in proportion as these are consistent with the laws and views of nature. It can legislate on those relations only which may be suspended and delegated by the whole, to a part of society. If there exist in the human character any relation, the rights of which cannot be delegated, government cannot be possessed of a right to legislate on those rights—it cannot point out a rule of conduct in a series of duties, which result from a relation over which it hath no cognizance. Should it be a proved thing, that men give up for civil purposes, a portion of the rights of nature, it will go to this only, that they yield that of which they have a right to divest themselves, for purposes of happiness; but will never found a power in government, over things which could not be yielded.

“It is the duty of every man to worship God in the manner which he may think most acceptable to him.”<sup>9</sup> Religion is the worship of God. It is a duty arising from the relation of man to his Creator. Whether the religion professed be natural, or revealed, the evidence which brings conviction is submitted to the judgment of each professor: if faith be the bottom on which particular creeds stand, still less is religion under human controul. Rewards and punishments are the objects of all religions: to render these consistent with the divine attributes, and operative in this world, it is a necessary principle, that each individual be try'd by his own merits. The evidence of every religion must be received in a manner peculiar to the judgment of every agent, in a degree of conviction proportioned to its force, and to that peculiarity of temper, habit, and education, which hath so wonderfully vary'd the moral face of things.

Religion is a matter of opinion and of sentiment. It is not a uniform conclusion drawn from a common sense of divine relation; if it were, there would be but one opinion on the subject; and government, could it gain a right, might have in it a more palpable instrument of policy, give less indulgence to its errors; and by defining with accuracy the duties which arise from the relation of man to God, might, with less hazard, ingraft it on the general plan of policy and legislation. But this is not the case, as religion is the duty arising from the relation of man to God, and not from the relation of man to man, the mode discharging this duty cannot be submitted to delegation. This mode forms a part of the duty, and is that secret communication with the Divinity, which cannot be

<sup>9</sup> “(Constitution of the State of Maryland.) Here are general premises—In a subsequent sentence is this particular conclusion, that ‘therefore all Christians shall be entitled to worship God, &c.’”—W. V. M.’s footnote.

See section 33 of the Declaration of Rights preceding the Maryland constitution of 1777 in *The Laws of Maryland . . .*, ed. William Kilty, 2 vols. (Annapolis, 1799-1800).



supported but by the mind which feels it. This duty is enjoined by the law of nature. The law of nature was anterior to civil regulations.

Whatever rights could not be the object of civil cognizance, still remain under the cognizance of the law of nature. It is clear, that whatever rights had a reference to the relation between man and man, might for the good of the whole, be delegated by the whole to a part of society.

It is equally clear, that whatever rights were at once rights of the individual, and duties to his Creator, could not be delegated by the whole to a part. Such a delegation would have subverted that responsibility which supports the scheme of rewards and punishments. If the right of deciding on the duty of God could be delegated, the constituent would discharge himself from his responsibility. No man then can divest himself of the means whereby he forms that conviction, in the exercise of his free agency, from whence he deduces those duties, in the undelegated discharge of which, he rests his hopes of salvation.

The rights which result from social and human relations may be delegated. The rights which flow from the relation of man to his Creator, can no more be delegated, than the discharge of religious obligations can be made by substitutes.

Civil government can be but the concentration of many wills. Its powers must be correspondent to the rights associated.—This combination includes nothing which was not delegated. No rights can be delegated which the social being could not surrender to trust. But the rights resulting from the relation of man to his Creator, cannot be surrendered to man; and therefore the rights of religion are unalienable.

Government which legislates with a view to rights with which it is invested by delegation, can have no cognizance over the rights of religion which are unalienable. As long as religion is held by its possessors to be a secret communication with heaven, and submitted to as the monitor of moral conduct, government can have no just power of prevention, or patronage on the subject. When it forsakes its peculiar relation, and mingles with the relations to which it bears no analogy; when it assumes powers derogatory to the rights resulting from other relations, government, as the guardian of its own peculiar rights, will interfere, and secure to all an equal enjoyment of both civil and religious freedom.

# BLAKEFORD, QUEEN ANNE'S COUNTY<sup>1</sup>

By EDWARD C. MORSE

THE Blakeford estate is beautifully located on a peninsula of the Eastern Shore four miles from Kent Island and about twenty-eight miles across the Bay southeast of Baltimore. The peninsula, formed by Queenstown Creek and the Chester River, known as Blakeford, is approximately two miles long from north to south and half a mile wide. No part of it is more than twenty feet above sea-level, though there is a scarcely perceptible ridge running down the middle of the neck to within a half mile of the southern tip. On this terminal point of the elevation stands the main dwelling of Blakeford with a commanding view of the estate.

There are two approaches to the Blakeford house. On the south a lane leads indirectly to the old landing on Queenstown Creek which served as a "front door" in the early days when water was the chief means of transportation. The landing, partially encircled with buildings, modern except for an early smoke-house, has seen better days and is no longer used as an entrance to the waterway out to the Chester River, the Chesapeake Bay and beyond. The lane to the landing is bordered by several gnarled *Syringa* or "mock-orange" trees, survivors of two orderly rows. The other approach to Blakeford now is the main one, a wide, tree-lined avenue from the north with pastures on both sides of it for the great herd of cattle which was the pride of the recent owner.

Blakeford contains, with the barns, stables, greenhouses, and lesser dwellings, over fourteen structures. The present main

<sup>1</sup> The author takes this opportunity to thank those who have so courteously replied to inquiries during the preparation of this article. He is especially indebted to Mr. Roger Thomas of the Hall of Records, Annapolis, Captain John B. Brown, USN Retired, Miss Mary Gordon Thom of Baltimore, Mrs. Guy E. Harmon, Sr., of Queenstown, Mrs. J. Harman Whiteley of Centreville, Mr. Bradley Delechanty, architect, of New York, and Mr. Norman R. Hatch of Queenstown.

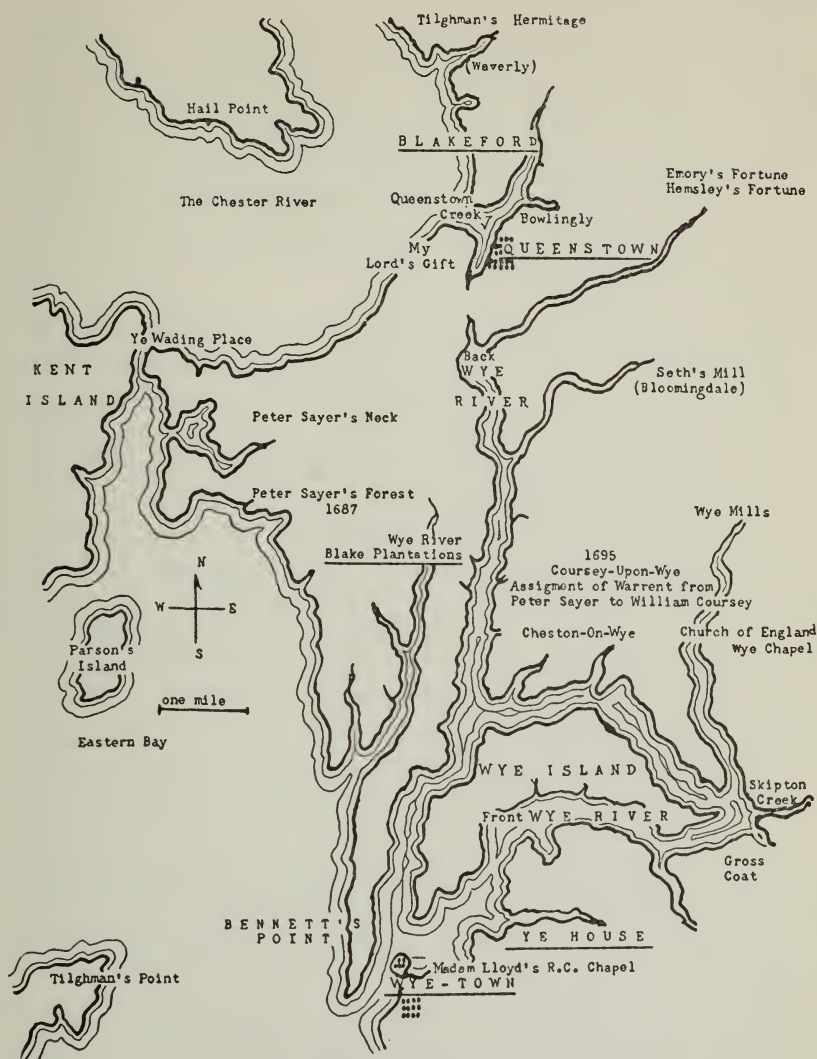
dwelling was built in 1834-35, the third to be built on approximately the same location. A hundred years later, without disturbing the basic structure, Mr. George M. Moffett, the owner, and Bradley Delehanty, the New York architect, with extraordinary skill converted the structure into its present American Georgian form. Some minor changes were made in the interior and two-story brick wings were added on the east and west. The square central block measures  $46\frac{1}{2} \times 46\frac{1}{2}$  ft., and is of brick and clapboards, two-and-a-half stories high, painted white to match the color of the whitewashed brick wings. Colonnades replaced the former porches on the north and south elevations and a third colonnade was put at the end of the new west wing. The massive chimneys, also white, contrast with the dark roof, which is topped with a railed-in deck larger than those commonly seen in Maryland.

The interior of the main section of the house is divided by a central hallway running north and south. Entering from the south, the library is on the left, the dining room on the right. The floors are of walnut; that of the central hall was covered in 1935 at the time of the remodeling with random-width walnut boards cut from the estate and fixed in place with dowels. The main stairway, now in the central hall with a Palladian window at the landing above, was formerly in a lesser corridor which was eliminated to provide a larger dining room. The latter has an imposing mantel and a beautifully carved corner cupboard. White walls and woodwork set off the mahogany Hepplewhite furniture and oriental rug which until recently ornamented it.<sup>2</sup>

The large living room and part-time ballroom has old-white walls and dark paneling about the exquisite fire-place and a break-front bookcase in a corner. When furnished this room was said to glow with warm browns and shades of *bois de rose*. The library with its faded-blue, paneled walls and recessed alcoves for books was an excellent example of eighteenth century interior design. The east wing comprises the service quarters.

Looking out through the south or garden entrance about 100 yards across a wide lawn, the visitor sees a small swimming pool. Some distance to the right of the pool is a special box-wood garden planted with great care. Here, in a beautiful setting which she

<sup>2</sup> All the furniture in the house, except in two small rooms and the caretaker's quarters, was removed and stored following Mr. Moffett's death a few years ago.



PROPERTIES OF THE BLAKE AND RELATED FAMILIES NEAR BLAKEFORD



loved so well, is the grave of the second wife of Mr. George M. Moffett.

To the left of the extensive lawn on the south are the gardens, rightfully called magnificent. Beyond a group of scattered evergreens is the sunken garden with circular plantings sloping almost imperceptibly some six feet from the perimeter into a central, delicately wrought pattern at the base of the garden. In the same area are rare plants, the envy of many horticulturists, a great planting of evergreens, and holly, some with the rarer yellow berry. The tulip gardens are renowned throughout the State and the Eastern seaboard.

East of the dwelling, and flanking what was the east side of the main structure, are two old, wood outbuildings, with peaked roofs, topped with pigeon cotes reminding one of two sentinels guarding a main establishment. These buildings, the brick cellar of the central block, the great wide chimney and signs of ancient lateral ovens, are reminiscent of eighteenth century days.

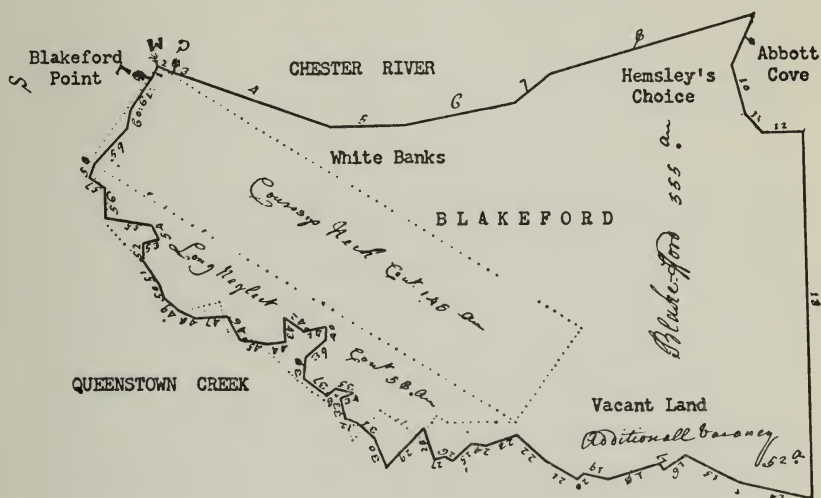
Only three families have owned Blakeford since 1696: the Blakes for four generations; the Wright-Thomas-Thoms for 126 years; and the Moffetts from 1934 until it recently became the property of the Whitehall Foundation. The founder of Blakeford was Charles Blake, son and heir of Charles Blake, Senior, "Gent," of London and of "an antient famely of that name in Hampshire, England," in the words of Dr. Charles Carroll of Annapolis.<sup>3</sup> A Roman Catholic, young Blake was educated in Paris, according to family tradition, at the school conducted by the English Benedictine Monks. He settled in Maryland about 1685 and early acquired several tracts of land on the Eastern Shore. He resided at first in Wye-Town at the "town house" of his uncle Colonel Peter Sayer near "Wye House," the home of the Lloyds. Madam Lloyd, the Sayers,<sup>4</sup> and Blake, were among the few Roman Catholics in the area.

Blakeford originated in 1696 when young Blake, protégé, nephew, and heir-to-be of Colonel Peter Sayer, one of the most

<sup>3</sup> *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XIX (1924), 190.

<sup>4</sup> Colonel Peter Sayer left a third of his estate to be divided between the English Benedictine Monks in Paris, the English Benedictine Nuns in Paris, and the English Friars, as well as five pounds apiece to every Roman Catholic priest in the Province of Maryland. Will of Peter Sayer (1697), Liber 7, fols. 334, 335, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

colorful figures on the Eastern Shore, began on his uncle's advice the purchase of several adjoining pieces of land "Royall mines excepted," on a peninsula called Coursey-Neck-on-Chester. There were three initial tracts, two of which amounted to 198 acres, purchased from William Coursey. They had formerly been detached portions across Coursey Creek of the so-called "Thumb Grant" of Colonel Henry Coursey; the main portion called "My Lord's Gift" being south of the Creek. Blake, Henry Coursey



PLAT OF BLAKEFORD IN 1724

and Peter Sayer, all extensive landowners, Royalists, and adherents of James II, in the Revolution of 1689, were closely associated in many local activities. On two occasions descendants of the Blake and Coursey families were to intermarry.

Blake, who referred to these pre-Blakeford tracts as "My lands on Chester river Viz: White Banks, Coursey Neck, and Long Neglect," preferred to reside at one of his other plantations a few miles south on the Back Wye River, then a popular waterway. These plantations were closer to "Wye House," the childhood home of his wife, the former Henrietta Maria Lloyd, daughter of Colonel Philemon Lloyd and sister of Edward

Lloyd, II.<sup>5</sup> Queenstown did not then exist and Blake's Wye River estate was less isolated than Blakeford. In fact, it was this inaccessibility which gave Blakeford its name. The convenient approach for horsemen and ox-carts to this island-like tract from Blake's other plantations on Sayer's Neck (Piney Neck), and from the Back Wye River to Ye Wading Place (Kent Narrows), was by way of the shallow and hard-bottomed ford across the mouth of Coursey (Queenstown) Creek. In view of the fact that Blake and his people became the principal, if not sole users of this ford, neighbors called it the Blake ford, thus providing in a most casual manner the name of the Blakeford estate. In 1724 Blakeford officially received its name when a special warrant was granted Charles Blake for a re-survey. The Patent was dated May 5, 1727.<sup>6</sup> The entire peninsula was thereby consolidated into one tract of 555 acres bounded on the north by "Tilghman's Hermitage," the estate of Richard Tilghman, II, whose wife was Blake's sister-in-law. Blakeford consisted, as it does today, of the 145 acre "Coursey Neck," which was the 1696 purchase for £100 sterling, the 300 acre "Hemsley's Choice," which included "White Banks"; the 58 acre "Long Neglect," acquired in 1701; and 52 acres described as vacant land.

Charles Blake, a widower for some years, died in 1732. His burial place which he wished to be beside his late wife, "if I die in Maryland," is unknown, but may be at the family burial ground of his uncle Colonel Sayer at Wye-Town, where his aunt had erected a chapel of "brick and lime," or at "Bennett's Point," the home of his wife's half-brother, Richard Bennett, III, where his daughter Dorothy Blake Carroll was to be buried two years after Blake's death. Blake left in addition to Blakeford exclusive interest in the family estate in England and considerable property on the Eastern Shore, including a portion of "Gross Coat,"

<sup>5</sup> Genealogical data for the Blake, Lloyd, Coursey, Wright and Thom families has been procured from various sources, but the following have been particularly useful: Wills and land records; Blake Family Records compiled by Mr. Eugene Blake, Theodore C. Johnson, and Margaretta Wederstrandt Morse (Blake descendants); Wright Chart owned by Capt. John B. Brown, USN Retired; *Society of Colonial Wars in the State of Maryland: Genealogies of the Members . . .* (Balt., 1905); and, for historical as well as biographical information, Frederic Emory *History of Queen Anne's County* (1886-7, reprinted by Md. Hist. Soc., 1950) and Oswald Tilghman, *History of Talbot County Maryland, 1661-1861*, 2 vols. (Balt., 1915).

<sup>6</sup> Queen Anne's County, P. L. M. 6, fol. 409, Land Office, Annapolis.

acquired through his wife.<sup>7</sup> The Blake estate and property in England was a most complicated affair and was not settled until 1760. The Eastern Shore entailed estate, commonly called "Wye River," was left to the heir-at-law John Sayer Blake, I, and Blakeford was left to the other son, Philemon Charles Blake, I, who was apparently living there in 1723.

The early Blakeford dwelling, which no longer exists, and which was located near the present dwelling, had been built about 1720, perhaps earlier. The only description is the cold, meagre and unimaginative one recorded in the 1798 Tax Survey for Worrell Hundred:

1 brick dwelling house; one story; 35 x 22. 2 windows 50 x 24; one d[itt]o. 60 x 32; three d[itt]o. 40 x 24; two d[itt]o. 40 x 16. One brick kitchen 30 x 23.<sup>8</sup>

With the dormers, doors and chimneys not reportable, the description would indicate that this was a typical dwelling of the gentry-planter in late seventeenth and early eighteenth century Maryland. The second Blake owner, and first permanent resident, Philemon Charles Blake, I, owned, besides, considerable other property in the vicinity, including a part of "Lloyd's Meadows" at the head of the Wye, given to him by his aunt, Alice Lloyd.<sup>9</sup>

Blake's wife was the former Sarah Frisby, daughter of Captain Peregrine Frisby. Through his sister and brother he was related to both the Protestant and Catholic branches of the Carroll family. Through his sister Dorothy, who married the Protestant Dr. Charles Carroll of Annapolis, he was an uncle to Charles Carroll "The Barrister." His brother, John Sayer Blake, I, married Sarah Darnall, posthumous daughter of Philip Darnall, I, and granddaughter of Colonel Henry Darnall, I, brother-in-law to the third Lord Baltimore. Thus, through the Darnall and Brooke family relatives of Mrs. John Sayer Blake, I, he was a connection of Bishop John Carroll and Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

The third owner of Blakeford was Philemon Charles Blake, II, whose wife was the former Anne Hopper. Although he had inherited the estate, he had been a minor in 1753 when his father

<sup>7</sup> Will of John Sayer Blake, I, Liber 25, fol. 461, Hall of Records.

<sup>8</sup> 1798 Tax Assessment Records, Maryland Historical Society.

<sup>9</sup> Will of Charles Philemon Blake, I, Liber 31, fol. 169, Hall of Records.



made his last will in which Sarah Frisby Blake, mother of the heir, was given a choice of the several family plantations she might desire to live on during her lifetime. She selected Blakeford. It is believed Philemon Charles Blake, II, and his family continued to reside there. The next Blake owner lived at Blakeford in his youth during his grandmother's life-tenancy. He was Philemon Charles Blake, III, born in 1761, the year of his grandfather's death and four years before his own father died.



AUTHOR'S CONCEPTION OF BLAKE HOUSE IN 1798

The Blakes of Blakeford, when the American Revolution became imminent, moved to one of their less exposed plantations. At the beginning of the war the heir to Blakeford was fourteen years old and was less than twenty when his cousin, Tench Tilghman, after alighting from a Virginia vessel made his famous ride through the country opposite Blakeford to confirm to the sceptical Congress in Philadelphia the glad news from General Washington that Cornwallis had capitulated to the combined American and French land and sea forces at Yorktown. During the War Blakeford was leased to Judge Solomon Wright, an early advocate of secession of the American colonies from the British Empire. He had been appointed one of four commissioners, with headquarters at Queenstown, to try persons on the Eastern Shore suspected of treason against the rebelling colonies. Blakeford was a convenient residence.

The Wrights were an old and influential family in the upper

part of the County. Judge Wright and his family became closely attached to Blakeford and lived there until his death in 1798. In the meanwhile, Philemon Charles Blake, III, in 1797 married the widow of Samuel Earle, the former Henrietta Maria Nichols, whose grandfather was James Lloyd, brother to the wife of Charles Blake, founder of Blakeford. His beginning interest in politics and in the upper part of the County drew him away from Blakeford. Perhaps his extravagances in the post-war depression had been too excessive. In any case, Blakeford on court order was seized by the sheriff for debts of the owner.<sup>10</sup> It passed out of the hands of the Blakes, who had owned it over a century. While many Blake descendants remained, others left the Eastern Shore. One, a planter in Louisiana, named his plantation on the banks of the Mississippi "Blakeford" after the Maryland estate,<sup>11</sup> and another Philemon Charles Wederstrandt, was one of the first officers appointed in the United States Navy, beginning his career as a midshipman aboard the U. S. Frigate *Constellation* as it sailed from Baltimore in 1798.<sup>12</sup>

In 1801 and 1802, Robert Wright, who knew Blakeford from his youth when his father had leased it, purchased Blakeford.<sup>13</sup> According to an account in the *Baltimore Sun*, February 19, 1911, referring to the 1801-1802 purchase, Robert Wright was led to acquire it because of its water situation, its comparative convenience of access for those days, and because it was near the land holdings of the people of himself and his wife Sarah De Courcsey of Cheston-on-Wye. The Wrights were to add additional prominence to Blakeford and it became noted for its hospitality and entertainments.

The Wrights were related to the Blakes and the Courseys, or DeCourcys, as many members of that family had since the American Revolution reverted to the ancient spelling of that illustrious name. Robert Wright's father, Judge Solomon Wright, was a relative of the widow of Philemon Charles Blake, II, and

<sup>10</sup> Queen Anne's County, Liber S. T. W., no. 5, fols. 543, 544, Land Office.

<sup>11</sup> The Plantation, owned by the Wederstrandt branch of the Blakes, was in Feliciana Parish, Louisiana. The logbooks of the Wederstrandt family plantations, 1829-1859, are in the possession of the author.

<sup>12</sup> Philemon Charles Wederstrandt was the son of Conrad Theodore Wederstrandt, a French merchant ship captain, who settled in Queen Anne's County in 1758 and married, in the following year, Mary Blake, niece of Philemon Charles Blake, I.

<sup>13</sup> Queen Anne's County, Liber S. T. W., no. 5, fols. 543, 544, Land Office.

the grandmother of Robert Wright was Mary Coursey (De-Courcy) of the family which had owned that part of Coursey-Neck-on-Chester which went into the formation of Blakeford over a hundred years before.

Robert Wright had served as captain in the Maryland forces during the American Revolution and was to become eminent in the County and the State. For several years he conducted a large law practice at Chestertown, about twelve miles north of Blakeford, where he had been a student at Washington College. He was a judge in the Second Judicial District of the State, for several years he served in Congress, both as a Representative and as a Senator, and from 1806 to 1809 was Governor of Maryland.

While Governor Wright and his family were in Annapolis, in 1809, a disastrous fire destroyed the old dwelling at Blakeford. Following this, a wood dwelling, undescribed, was erected at or very near the site of the former house. During the War of 1812, when the Chesapeake Bay was virtually a British sea controlled by the enemy, an amphibious force of the enemy landed August, 1813, on the shallow Chester River beaches of Blakeford. There is no record of any damage done, but following this, former Governor Wright saw fit to remove his cattle and horses in anticipation of a later enemy raid. His son, Gustavus, was an artillery officer in the War of 1812. A colorful figure in the County, he was a principal in several duels, and the second in many of Captain Wright's duels was John Sayer Blake.

Former Governor Wright was a great horseman, and maintained a race-course at Blakeford up to the time of his death. Among his several horses, were "Silver Heels" and "Red Jacket," renowned throughout the State. He died at Blakeford in 1826 and was buried beside his late wife at Cheston-on-Wye, six miles below Blakeford, on the banks of the Back Wye River.

At Blakeford, the former Governor had been lavish in the entertainment of his many guests and relatives, and supporting a racing stable was unquestionably a costly undertaking. Following his death, in 1826, and for the second time in its history, on a court order to satisfy creditors Blakeford was seized by the sheriff, who ironically was John S. Blake, a descendant of the original owners. Blakeford was purchased by William Baker

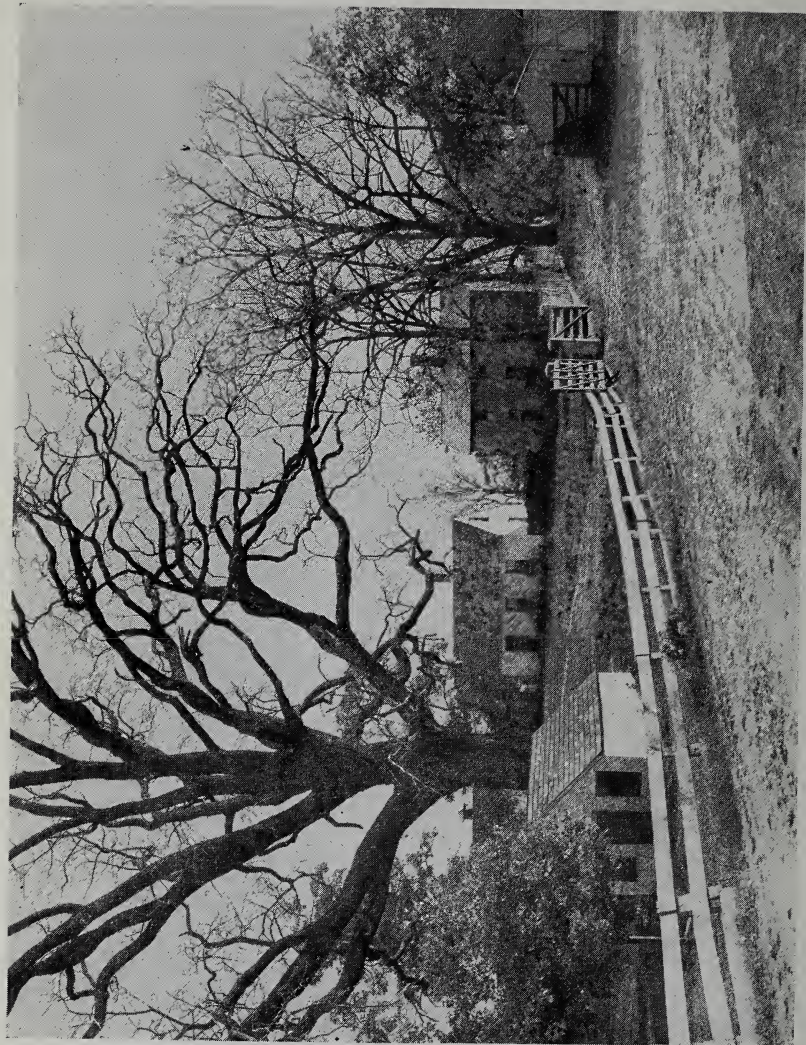




BLAKEFORD AS IT APPEARED BEFORE THE 1935 REMODELING

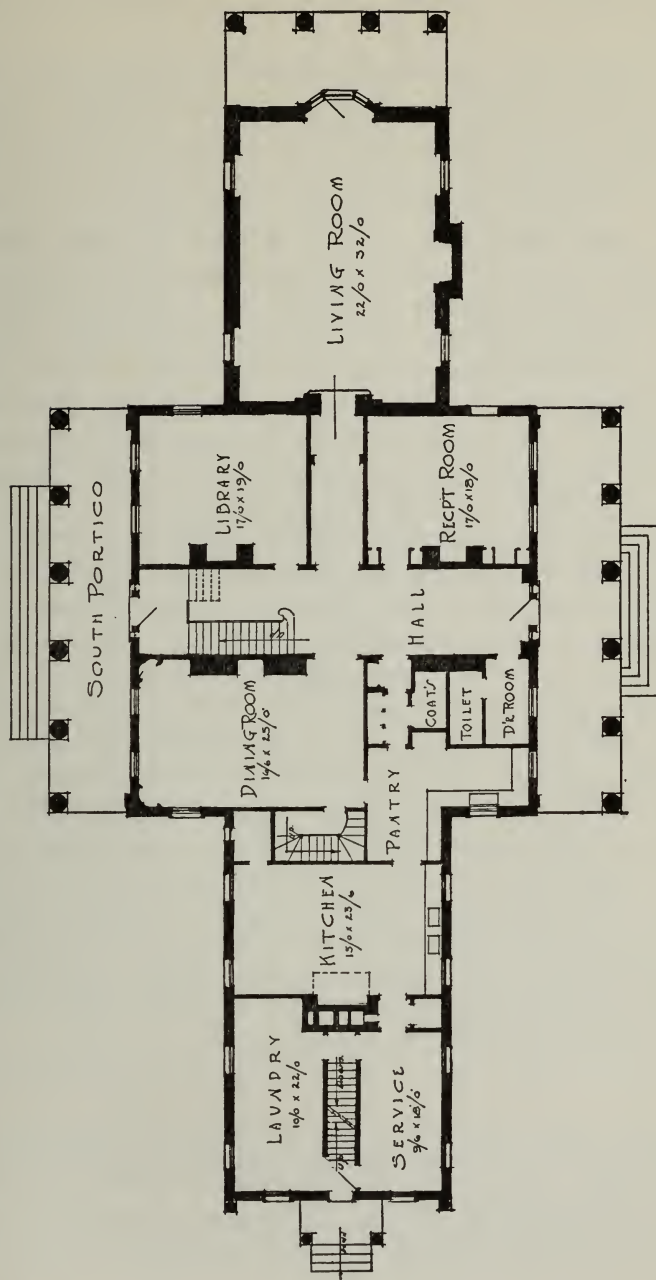
*Photo by Cecelia Eareckson*





SPRING HOUSE AND FORMER SLAVE QUARTERS AT BLAKEFORD

*Photo by Cecelia Earckson*



FIRST FLOOR PLAN OF BLAKEFORD

and his associates, in whose possession it remained for seven years.<sup>14</sup>

In 1833 the estate was "re-purchased" by the Governor's son, William Henry DeCourcy Wright. The new Wright owner, whose wife was the former Eliza Lea Warner of Delaware, had a most interesting and successful career. As a young man he was engaged for several years in business and adventure in South America, and fought, it is said, in the army of Simon Bolivar. He was in Brazil in 1825 when Portugal recognized the independence of her former possession, and he was appointed American Consul at Rio de Janeiro. He organized the Maxwell, Wright Company of Baltimore and was in no small degree instrumental in establishing close business relations between Rio de Janeiro and Baltimore. It was also, no doubt, his Latin American associations which prompted him to present to St. Luke's Episcopal Chapel in Queenstown "The Bell of Portugal."

After his return to Maryland and his purchasing of Blakeford, Wright found the dwelling inadequate for his large family. In 1833-1834 he built the central block of the present house in the close vicinity of the two preceding structures.<sup>15</sup> There were no real wings then, and the north and south elevations had two-story porches supported by thin columns. It was painted gray with off-brown trim, popular in that era. A most comfortable dwelling, it was built however, at a time when many of the architects did not see fit to tie the house as closely to the ground as they generally do today. There was no formal terminus of the road approach from the north, for it was an Eastern Shore custom to drive over the grass when close to the house. The south entrance, as before and since, connected with the lane to the landing. Great attention was paid to the gardens, and the practice began in this era of planting about the house two trees on the marriage of any of the family; one for the bride, one for the groom.

In the War of 1861-1865, Blakeford had a glimpse of the troops

<sup>14</sup> Recorded in Queen Anne's County Court House, Deed of Apr. 6, 1833. At the public sale the purchasers were William Baker, John Wroth, Martha Brice, and Rebecca Brice. The last three sold their interests to Baker, but the author does not know if Baker ever resided at Blakeford.

<sup>15</sup> In an account of Blakeford in *Vogue*, Apr. 1, 1938, concerned primarily with the estate during Moffett's ownership, it is stated that the house was built in the late 1780's, but the author can find no basis for such a statement.



of both sides. Queen Anne's County, like the State and the Nation, was divided over the interpretation of the American Constitution. It has been said that across from Blakeford recruits for the Confederate Army were openly drilled on the lawn at Bolingly, while at the same time and nearby, Federal troops were in training.

William Henry DeCourcy Wright died at Blakeford in 1864. Of his several children Clintonia Wright married (1) Captain William May, U. S. Navy, and (2) the Hon. Philip Francis Thomas, Governor of Maryland, 1848-1851. As a widow, Mrs. Thomas lived for a time at Blakeford, of which she was the owner after her father's death. Her sister, Ella Lea Wright, married Joseph Pembroke Thom who was a descendant of Richard Bennett, I, whose grandson Richard Bennett, III, was a half-brother to the wife of Charles Blake, the founder of Blakeford. Of the Wright-Thom marriage was born in Baltimore in 1858 William DeCourcy Wright Thom, the next owner of the estate. After a successful career in Baltimore as a banker, businessman and author, he was able to devote a great deal of his time to Blakeford. He was married twice, first, to Mary Pleasants Gordon of Baltimore, second, to Mary Washington (Keyser) Stewart, a daughter of H. Irvine Keyser, also of Baltimore.

It was in 1908-1909 that Mr. Thom added a new structure to the garden.<sup>16</sup> Although ancient in concept, and similar to those found in Portugal and the Mediterranean, it had the earmarks of an ultra-modern design. This was an arrangement for the family and guests to enjoy the breeze without the sun in the summer, and the sun without the wind in the winter. This is probably the only "Summer House," miscalled, of its kind in Maryland. It has two brick walls unroofed, bisecting each other at right angles, based on a brick terrace level with the ground, benches along all eight walls, and a weather vane on top to indicate which of the eight benches would be the most sheltered or breezy.

The last Wright-Thom owner of Blakeford was Miss Mary Gordon Thom, who now resides in Baltimore. Blakeford was acquired in 1934 by Mr. and Mrs. George M. Moffett, tenth private owners of Blakeford, and the third family. It was

<sup>16</sup> *Baltimore Sun*, Feb. 19, 1911.



Mr. Moffett, with the able aid of Bradley Delehanty, who skillfully added the wings which serve to fasten the whole to the ground. The 1835 house, as altered in 1935, with the colonnades and wings, embodies, it is believed, the very best in architecture of those cultured decades of the first half of the nineteenth century in the South when this dwelling was originally built.

Off the main traffic of today and perhaps of the foreseeable future, Blakeford promises to remain immune to "modern" environmental encroachments, while at the same time, paradoxically, it lies but a mile from a great superhighway, which, when completed, will be a main route between Washington, capital of the Nation, and New York, the metropolis of the New World.

# THE MAC KEELES OF DORCHESTER

By MARIE DIXON CULLEN

JOHN of the bonny clan MacKeele (MacKeill-McKeel) came to Dorchester County in 1673.<sup>1</sup> Whether he left an ailing wife or a newly turned grave, we do not know. But we do know that in 1680 his son Charles was brought to Dorchester by Henry Aldred who acknowledged receiving from John MacKeele a satisfactory compensation for transporting him.<sup>2</sup> From this new dependency there was now additional land due John which was called "Charles Delight" and "Charles Desires." John MacKeele left the land to his son Charles in his will dated March 13, 1695.<sup>3</sup> John had also been granted a warrant for one hundred acres October 30, 1673, but it was not until almost two years after his arrival in Maryland that he acquired this land, granted under patent May 9, 1675, "John's Desire" and on May 20, 1675, "John's Adventure," on the south side of Little Choptank River "to be holden . . . of our Manor of Nanticoke" with manorial rights.<sup>4</sup>

In possession of his lands, united with his son Charles, gifted with qualities of leadership, John MacKeele prospered and soon became one of the most active and influential men in Dorchester County, contributing to its development and safety. In 1678 he held the rank of Lieutenant in the Dorchester County Militia, and on the occasion of his service against the Nanticoke Indians was paid with 700 lbs. of tobacco, legal tender of the day.<sup>5</sup> By 1690 he had become Captain,<sup>6</sup> and on October 19, 1694, Governor Francis Nicholson appointed him Field Officer of Dorchester

<sup>1</sup> Early Settlers, Liber 17, f. 567, Land Office, Annapolis.

<sup>2</sup> Liber W C 2, f. 233, 312, 366, Land Office.

<sup>3</sup> Liber 7, f. 209, Land Office.

<sup>4</sup> Liber 18, f. 368, Land Office.

<sup>5</sup> Elias Jones, *Revised History of Dorchester County Maryland* (Baltimore, 1925), p. 41.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51.

County with rank of Lieutenant Colonel.<sup>7</sup> "At the Ridge" in Anne Arundel during the Assembly of Maryland held October and November 1683, he was appointed Land Commissioner to purchase land and lay out towns, providing plans for churches, chapels, market houses and other public buildings. He was appointed Court Commissioner at the same time.<sup>8</sup> On August 1, 1690, he, with the Hon. Thomas Ennalls and others, were Gentleman Justices of the first court under the reign of William and Mary organized at Cambridge.<sup>9</sup>

The MacKeeles supplemented their prominence and natural abilities by marriage alliances with important and influential families. John MacKeele's son Thomas married Clare, the daughter of Stephen Gary and widow of Charles Powell,<sup>10</sup> who was a member of the first Bar Association organized in Cambridge in 1692.<sup>11</sup>

Steven Gary, Gentleman, who immigrated from Cornwall, England, in 1650, was commissioned to survey 1500 acres on the Eastern Shore.<sup>12</sup> His wife Clare immigrated in 1653.<sup>13</sup> In 1655 Steven Gary demanded land on the Eastern Shore in return for the transportation of himself in 1650, Clare his wife in 1655, John and Nicholas de la Valey, and Mary Bull in 1657. A warrant to lay out to Steven Gary 500 acres was returned July 11, next,<sup>14</sup> and he received in 1662 by patent "Spocot" which he called his home plantation. Gary was another of the outstanding settlers. He and Henry Hooper were appointed as the first Gentlemen Justices or Commissioners of the County in 1699 when Dorchester County was erected.<sup>15</sup> He was also Peace Commissioner in 1675, 1676, 1677-1678,<sup>16</sup> and High Sheriff of Dorchester 1678-1681.<sup>17</sup> The Hon. George L. Radcliffe, direct descendant of Steven Gary through his daughter Clare and her first husband Charles Powell, now owns "Spocot" which he uses for his summer home.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 475.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 56-57.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51.

<sup>10</sup> Maryland Genealogical Records Committee Reports, V (1932), 51-52, Daughters of the American Revolution Library, Washington, D. C.

<sup>11</sup> Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

<sup>12</sup> Liber Q, f. 204, Liber 7, f. 581, Land Office.

<sup>13</sup> Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

<sup>14</sup> Liber Q, f. 204, Liber 7, f. 581, Land Office.

<sup>15</sup> Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

<sup>16</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, XV, 69, 131.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 232.

Steven Gary and John MacKeele were close neighbors on the Little Choptank River and men of similar interests and abilities, having served together often as officers of the court and as commissioners, so it is not surprising that Steven Gary's daughter Clare should take for her second husband Thomas, the son of Col. MacKeele. Thomas died in 1725, dividing his lands between his two sons, John and Thomas.<sup>18</sup>

Thomas, the son of Thomas and Clare MacKeele, following the MacKeele military tradition, was commissioned in 1748 Captain of Troops of Horse and Company of Horse belonging to Dorchester County.<sup>19</sup> He was commissioned one of the Coroners of Dorchester County June 18, 1741.<sup>20</sup> Captain MacKeele married Mary Stevens the daughter of John Stevens<sup>21</sup> and his wife Priscilla, who was the daughter of Henry Hooper II, sole surviving son of Henry Hooper I. The elder Hooper had been a Justice of Calvert County and Captain of the Calvert Militia in 1658.<sup>22</sup> He later removed to Dorchester County where he had taken up land in 1668.<sup>23</sup>

Captain Thomas MacKeele, soldier and churchman, was a large land owner and a man of great influence and prominence on the Eastern Shore. In his will dated September 26, 1760, and probated January 28, 1762,<sup>24</sup> he left to his wife and children large legacies of land (some of the same lands as mentioned in the wills of his grandfathers, John MacKeele and Steven Gary). He specified certain revenues to be used for the education of his children John, Thomas and Mary. He bequeathed to his wife and children (later to go to his elder son John) his pew in the Great Choptank Parish Church in Cambridge, as well as his pew in the Church at Fishing Creek. To his Cousin Mary Ann MacKeele he left a "Sorroll Horse" and "a home with his wife for as long as she thinks fit or until she may be otherwise provided for." He also left to his wife his riding chair (chaise or carriage) and horse, and to each child a riding horse, saddle and furniture. What a gala sight it must have been to see the MacKeeles

<sup>18</sup> Jane Baldwin, ed., *The Maryland Calendar of Wills*, VI, 77.

<sup>19</sup> *Maryland Historical Magazine*, VI (1911), 55.

<sup>20</sup> Dielman Biographical File, Maryland Historical Society.

<sup>21</sup> Annie W. Burns, *Maryland Will Book*, XXVII, 83.

<sup>22</sup> Liber S, f. 139, Land Office, *Archives of Maryland*, III, 344-347.

<sup>23</sup> Rent Roll, Dorchester County, Calvert Paper 885, Maryland Historical Society.

<sup>24</sup> Wills, Liber 31, f. 561, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Md.



"en famille" driving from their plantation to church in Cambridge; Captain and Mrs. MacKeele in their riding chair flanked by their children as out-riders, each child on his own mount equipped with handsome harness!

Captain MacKeele's widow Mary married Benjamin Keene as is shown by the will of her mother Priscilla Hooper Stevens Howe, dated March 23, 1769. Mrs. Howe had married Robert Howe after the death in 1750 of John Stevens, her first husband.<sup>25</sup>

The days of comfort and security were soon overtaken by the Revolutionary War and eldest son John, a fitting descendant of Col. John MacKeele, Captain Henry Hooper and the Hon. Steven Gary, when the liberty and independence of his beloved country was threatened, was granted in November, 1776, letters of marque with the rank of Captain. He sailed "The Sturdy Beggar," a small brig, ill-equipped with only fourteen guns and a small, hastily gathered crew, to the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay to harass the Royal British Navy and gain time for defenses to be assembled against invasion.<sup>26</sup> Captain MacKeele lived to see his country win its independence, finally passing away August 6, 1798. His wife Mary had died January 15 of the same year.<sup>27</sup> While John was fighting courageously for liberty at sea, brother Thomas, in keeping with the family military tradition, played his part in the war. He fought with Maryland's "Four Hundred" in the Battle of Long Island, August 27, 1776, under Major Mordecai Gist,<sup>28</sup> whose Independent Cadets laid the cornerstone of Maryland's Dandy Fifth.

Among the other children of Captain John MacKeele one daughter Sarah married Samuel Hooper and moved to Baltimore, where their only daughter Elizabeth Ann Hooper is buried in Old St. Paul's Grave Yard. Another daughter Mary married on March 4, 1788, Richard Pattison, whose mother Sarah was a grand-daughter of Henry Hooper II.<sup>29</sup>

Richard Pattison played his part in the Revolution, serving under Captain Charles Staplefort in the lower Battalion of Dorchester County Select Militia.<sup>30</sup> Richard also was churchman as

<sup>25</sup> Wills, Liber 34, f. 114, Liber 37, f. 147, Hall of Records.

<sup>26</sup> Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

<sup>27</sup> Md. Gen. Rec. Comm. Reports, *op. cit.*

<sup>28</sup> *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XIV (1919), 118.

<sup>29</sup> Md. Gen. Rec. Comm. Reports, *op. cit.*

<sup>30</sup> Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

well as soldier, conducting services in the "Old Church" during the period that church was without a rector, 1794-1806. The Old Church was reconsecrated by the Right Reverend Bishop Whitehouse after its restoration from great dilapidation and long vacancy in the middle of the nineteenth century when it was named Trinity.<sup>31</sup> "Old Trinity" is now undergoing an authentic restoration through the interest and generosity of Colonel and Mrs. Edgar Garbisch and the Honorable George L. Radcliffe. Tradition has it that it is the second oldest Protestant church in America.

After a full life as soldier, churchman and statesman Richard Pattison rests with his wife Mary MacKeele Pattison in Christ Church Grave Yard, Cambridge, Maryland. Among Richard and Mary's children was a son James MacKeele Pattison whose daughter Aurelia married Dr. James L. Bryan, from which union there are many living descendants. A daughter Anne Maria married James Dixon of Cambridge November 29, 1825. Their youngest son Richard Hooper Dixon, M. D., lived in Cambridge until the time of his death, April 15, 1912.<sup>32</sup> Dr. Dixon with his wife Helen Victoria Johnson are buried alongside James and Ann Maria Dixon, not far from Mary MacKeele and Richard Pattison, in Christ Church Grave Yard.

The MacKeele family,<sup>33</sup> like a number of other Dorchester County families, some of whom it had intermarried with, stemmed from seventeenth century pioneers who struck firm roots in Maryland soil. While the tide of population swept westward in America, these families remained attached to the cultured and refined society in Maryland, to which they had contributed its distinctive qualities, while serving their country as soldiers and statesmen.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 116.

<sup>32</sup> Dixon Family Bible.

<sup>33</sup> The MacKeill coats of arms may be found in Burke's *General Armory* (1851).

# OIL PORTRAITS IN THE COLLECTION OF THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

A SUPPLEMENT TO THE CATALOG OF PORTRAITS PUBLISHED IN 1946  
INCLUDING ALL THOSE ACQUIRED TO NOVEMBER 1955

THIS is not only a list of all oil portraits received by the Society since publication of the checklist compiled by Anna Wells Rutledge in 1946, but also includes portraits then owned by the Society that were omitted from the former list because they were painted after the year 1900. The 1946 catalog and the present one together comprise an inventory of all portraits owned or on deposit in the Society.

Supplements to Miss Rutledge's *Hand List of Miniatures in the Collection of the Maryland Historical Society* (1945) and to her *Portraits in Varied Media in the Collections of the Maryland Historical Society* (1946) will be prepared in due course. A list of landscape views and other paintings not otherwise classified is in preparation and will be printed in the *Magazine*.

Accession numbers indicate, with a few exceptions, the order in which portraits were received.

This list has been compiled by Miss Eugenia Calvert Holland with the assistance of Miss Louisa M. Gary.

JAMES W. FOSTER, *Director*

## *Oil Portraits in the Maryland Historical Society* *A Supplement to the Catalog of 1946*

223. ARUNAH SHEPHERDSON ABELL (1806-1888)  
Founder and proprietor of *The Sun*, Baltimore daily newspaper,  
in 1837.  
By Bendann after John Dabour. Signed: *Bendann/Dabour 1871*.  
54 x 38.  
Gift of The A. S. Abell Company. 54.53.1

224. WALTER DULANY ADDISON (1769-1848)  
Of Oxon Hill Manor, Prince George's County. Son of Thomas Addison and his wife Rebecca Dulany. Addison was the first minister ordained (1793) by Bishop T. J. Claggett of the Episcopal Church. One of the four officiating clergymen at funeral of George Washington. Great grandfather of donor.  
By Charles B. King, ca. 1845. 30 x 25 $\frac{1}{4}$ .  
Gift of Miss Adele Marie Batré. 50.17.1
225. WILLIAM MEADE ADDISON (1817-1871)  
Baltimore lawyer, son of the Rev. Walter Dulany Addison and his second wife, Rebecca Covington Baily.  
Unattributed American, ca. 1870. 30 x 25.  
Gift of Miss Mary P. Ingle. 53.110.1
226. JOHN ALLAN (1780-1830)  
Of Richmond, Va. Merchant who adopted Edgar Allan Poe as a child but was later estranged.  
Attributed to Philippe A. Peticolas. Oil on tin. 10 x 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ .  
Gift of Mrs. J. Hyland Kuhns. 47.79.1
227. "MR. ARNOLD"  
Believed to be a brother of Mrs. John Ross (No. 356), and No. 228.  
By Gustavus Hesselius, ca. 1730. 30 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 25 $\frac{1}{4}$ .  
Gift of Mrs. Thomas C. Jenkins in memory of Mrs. George C. Jenkins (Mary Catherine Key). 52.15.3
228. "MR. ARNOLD, THE YOUNGER"  
Believed to be a brother of Mrs. Ross (No. 356) and of subject of No. 227.  
By Gustavus Hesselius, ca. 1730. 30 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 25 $\frac{1}{4}$ .  
Gift of Mrs. Thomas C. Jenkins in memory of Mrs. George C. Jenkins (Mary Catherine Key). 52.15.4
229. MICHAEL ARNOLD, JR. (ca. 1675-1731 ?)  
As a child. Son of a London brewer of the parish of St. Margaret's Westminster, London. He married Anne Knipe, daughter of a prebendary of Westminster Abbey. Great great grandfather of Francis Scott Key.  
British school, ca. 1681. 46 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 38.  
Gift of Mr. Arthur T. Brice. 51.32.2
230. ANNE ARUNDELL, LADY BALTIMORE (1615-1649)  
Wife of Cecil Calvert, second Baron Baltimore; third daughter of Sir Thomas, Baron Arundell of Wardour, Count of the Holy Roman Empire (1560-1639) and his second wife Anne Philipson.  
By Florence Mackubin after Van Dyck. 30 x 25.  
Gift of the Arundell Club. 52.32.1



## 231. "YOUNG BACCHUS"

By John R. Robertson. Signed: *Robertson*. 16 x 16.  
Gift of Mrs. J. H. Meredith. 1891.1.8

## 232. WILLIAM BAKER, JR. (1781-1867)

Son of William (1752-1815) and Anna Burneston Baker (1751-1841) No. 6 & No. 7 in 1946 catalog.  
Unattributed American. Oil on panel. 11 x 9.  
Gift of Mr. John H. Converse. 51.67.1

## 233. MRS. WILLIAM BAKER, JR. (Jane Jones)

Daughter of Richard Jones of "Friendsbury"; native Welshman who emigrated to Baltimore 1781.  
Unattributed American. 11 x 11.  
Gift of Mr. John H. Converse. 51.67.2

## 234. MRS. JOHN BARCLAY (Rachel Goldsborough) (1734-1796)

Wife of the rector of St. Peter's Parish, Talbot County, Md., and mother of Mrs. Joseph Haskins (No. 299).  
By Charles Willson Peale, ca. 1790. 36 x 27.  
Gift of Miss Ellen J. Dennis. 48.21.1

## 235. JOSIAH BAYLY (1769-1846)

Native of Somerset County. Son of Esme Bayly and Sinah Polk of Cambridge, Dorchester County. Member of the Maryland Legislature, and Attorney-General of Maryland, 1831-1845.  
By Thomas Sully, 1815. 30 x 25 $\frac{1}{4}$ .  
Bequest of Mrs. John I. Palmer, granddaughter of subject. 54.125.1

## 236. CORNELIUS ELI BEATTY (1807-1856)

Of Baltimore. Iron and commission merchant. Married 1834, Margaret R. Pue.  
By John Beale Bordley. Signed: *J. B. Bordley/1851*. Oil on panel. 12 x 10.  
Deposited by Mr. Carleton Coulter, Sr. Deposit No. 338

## 237. MRS. EDRIS BERKLEY (Virginia Enders) (1826-1876)

Of Richmond, Va., and Baltimore.  
By Alfred J. Miller, 1854. 36 x 28.  
Bequest of Dr. Henry J. Berkley, son of subject. 46.73.2

## 238. HENRY J. BERKELEY, M. D. (1860-1940)

As a child of ten. Son of Edris Berkley, graduate of University of Maryland Medical School. Psychiatrist on the staff of University of Maryland and Johns Hopkins Hospitals.  
By Alfred J. Miller, 1866. Signed: *Miller*. 36 x 28.  
Bequest of Dr. Henry J. Berkley. 46.73.3

239. MRS. JOHN BEALE BORDLEY (Jane Paca Baker)  
 Second wife of the artist.  
 By John Beale Bordley, ca. 1840. 34 x 28.  
 Gift of Dr. James Bordley, Jr. 54.42.1
240. WILLIAM LOATES BOYD (1852-1908) and JOHN SIFFORD BOYD (1853-1902)  
 Sons of John Jacob Boyd (1820-1876), and his wife Frances Adelaide Sifford (1826-1902), of Frederick and Baltimore.  
 Unattributed American, ca. 1857. 48 x 38.  
 Gift of Mrs. John Moale. 52.78.1
241. MRS. B. PEYTON BROWN (Henrietta Hammond Dorsey) (1836-1867)  
 Daughter of Noah E. Dorsey (1799-1871) and his wife Sarah Hammond. Her husband was pastor of Foundry Methodist Church, Washington, D. C.  
 By James K. Harley. 27 x 22.  
 Gift of Claude W. Dorsey. 53.70.1
242. GEORGE WILLIAM BROWN (1812-1890)  
 Native of Baltimore, son of George and Esther Allison Brown. Lawyer, Mayor of Baltimore 1860-1861, imprisoned by Federal authorities in Ft. McHenry. Member of State Constitutional Convention 1867; Chief Judge of the Supreme Bench of Baltimore, 1872-1889. A founder of the Maryland Historical Society; trustee of St. John's College, Peabody Institute, Pratt Library, and an original trustee of Johns Hopkins University.  
 By J. H. Lazarus. Signed: *J-Lazarus N York 1879*. 30½ x 25.  
 Gift of Mrs. Robert E. Lee Marshall. 50.43.1
243. JAMES BROWN  
 Baltimore merchant.  
 Unattributed American, ca. 1870.  
 Gift of H. Lee Brown, grandson of subject. 48.27.1
244. MRS. WARFIELD T. BROWNING (Caroline [Lina] Cinnamond) (1841-1911)  
 Artist, poet and musician. Daughter of George R. Cinnamond (1814-1866), Baltimore attorney.  
 Attributed to Hans Heinrich Bebie, ca. 1860. 30 x 25.  
 Bequest of Clarence A. C. Browning, son of subject. 55.60.1
245. FREDERICK W. BRUNE (1813-1878)  
 Eminent Baltimore lawyer, active layman of the Episcopal Church. Married Emily S. Barton.  
 By Oscar Hallwig, ca. 1881. 30 x 25.  
 Gift of Mrs. John Wheeler Griffin. 49.83.1

## 246. BENEDICT CALVERT (1722-1788)

Of "Mount Airy," Prince George's County, Md. Son of Charles Calvert, Fifth Lord Baltimore (No. 20 in 1946 catalog). Collector of the Port of Patuxent; president of Governor's Council; judge and register of Land Office. Married his cousin Elizabeth, daughter of Capt. Charles Calvert, Governor of Maryland 1720-1727.

By John Wollaston, ca. 1754. 52 x 48.

Deposited by Messrs. Richard C. M. and George Davis Calvert.  
Deposit No. 375.

## 247. CHARLES CALVERT (1756-1774)

Of "Mount Airy," Prince George's County, who died in England while attending Eton. Eldest son of the Honorable Benedict Calvert (No. 246); brother of Eleanor Calvert, wife of John Parke Custis. By Charles Willson Peale, ca. 1772. 21 x 17.

Gift of Mr. J. Gilman D'Arcy Paul. 50.7.1

## 248. MRS. CHARLES BENEDICT CALVERT (Charlotte Augusta Norris) (1816-1876)

Of "Riversdale," Prince George's County; daughter of William Norris, Jr. and his wife Sarah Hough Martin, daughter of Col. Thomas Martin of "Cedar Grove," Baltimore.

By Thomas Sully. Signed: TS 1843. 29½ x 24½.

Gift of estate of Anna Campbell Ellicott. 50.44.1

## 249. WILLIAM HINDMAN CAMPBELL (1795-1839)

Son of Archibald and Elizabeth (Hindman) Campbell of Baltimore; Lieutenant U. S. Navy, serving on U. S. S. *Ontario*, *Constellation* and other vessels.

By William James Hubbard. Oil on panel. 20¾ x 15.

Gift of Miss Elsie Murdoch Bond. 50.23.2

## 250. CHARLES CARROLL (1660-1720), "the Settler"

Native of Ireland; studied at Inner Temple, London, emigrated to Maryland 1688, with a commission from Lord Baltimore as Attorney-General; married first Mary Underwood, 1689, second Mary Darnall, 1693, daughter of Colonel Henry Darnall I (1645-1711), of the "Woodyard."

By Justus Engelhardt Kühn, ca. 1717. 32½ x 25.

Purchase. 48.22.1

## 251. MRS. CHARLES CARROLL (Mary Darnall) (1679-1742)

Wife of Charles Carroll, "the Settler." Daughter of Col. Henry Darnall I (1645-1711), of the "Woodyard," Prince George's County (No. 44 in 1946 Catalog).

Attributed to Gustavus Hesselius ca. 1718. 30 x 25.

Purchase. 49.64.1

252. CHARLES CARROLL (1702-1782), of Annapolis  
As a child of ten. Son of Charles Carroll the "Settler" and his wife Mary Darnall. He married Elizabeth Brooke, daughter of Clement Brooke of Prince George's County. Father of Charles Carroll of Carrollton (No. 23 in 1946 catalog).  
By Justus Engelhardt Kühn, ca. 1712. Inscription: *Ætatis Sua[e].*X  
53½ x 38½. On loan to Hampton Historic Site.  
Gift of Mr. J. Gilman D'Arcy Paul. 49.69.3
253. MRS. JOHN CARROLL (Mary Randolph Thomas) (1851-1930)  
Daughter of Dr. John Hanson Thomas (1813-1881), of 1 West Mt. Vernon Place, Baltimore, and his wife Anna Campbell Gordon. Her home was "The Caves," Baltimore County.  
By Lina C. Browning, ca. 1865. 30 x 25.  
Bequest of Clarence A. C. Browning. 55.60.2.
254. LITTLE MISS CARVALHO  
Niece of the artist.  
By Solomon N. Carvalho, ca. 1850. 13¾ x 11¾  
Presented by Mr. O. H. Bullitt, being part of a bequest to him of the late Elizabeth Whiteford Long. 47.93.1
255. RICHARD CATON (1763-1845)  
Of Liverpool, England; Baltimore; and "Brooklandwood," Baltimore County, Md. He married Mary Carroll (1770-1846), a daughter of Charles Carroll of Carrollton.  
By Richard Caton Woodville, great nephew of subject, ca. 1844.  
Oil on panel, 11 x 8½.  
Gift of Mr. J. Gilman D'Arcy Paul. 49.69.2
256. THOMAS JOHN CLAGGETT (1743-1816)  
Of Prince George's County; first Episcopal Bishop of Maryland, and first Episcopal Bishop consecrated in America, 1792; friend of Francis Scott Key and chaplain of the U. S. Senate.  
By John Wesley Jarvis. 34 x 26¾.  
Gift of Mrs. Esther H. Little in memory of Rev. Francis Little (1886-1933). 54.85.1
257. MRS. ISRAEL I. COHEN (Judith Solomon) (1766-1837)  
Of Bristol, England; Richmond, Va.; and later of Baltimore, Md. Her husband, native of Germany, was a prominent merchant of Richmond, b. 1751, d. 1803.  
Unattributed American, ca. 1830. 30 x 25.  
Bequest of Mrs. Harriett Cohen Coale, great granddaughter of subject. 47.22.1
258. MENDES COHEN (1831-1915)  
Eldest child of David I. and Harriet Cohen. Civil engineer and



industrialist. President of Maryland Historical Society (1904-1918).

By Thomas C. Corner, 1913.  $29\frac{3}{4} \times 25$ .

Collection of the Society. 17.9.1

259. MENDES I. COHEN (1796-1879)

Fifth son of Israel I. Cohen. In 1814 a Captain of the Artillery Fencibles and present at Fort McHenry during the British bombardment. Baltimore banker and a member of the Maryland Legislature 1847-48. He is shown in oriental costume.

Unattributed American, ca. 1835-40. Oil on panel.  $12\frac{1}{2} \times 10$ .

Bequest of Mrs. Harriett Cohen Coale, great niece of subject. 47.22.2

260. ARTHUR FREEMAN CONVERSE (1873-1874)

Infant son of Mr. and Mrs. John H. Converse.

Unattributed American.  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ .

Gift of John H. Converse, brother of subject. 51.67.8

261. GRENVILLE CHARLES COOPER (d. 1844), Lt. U. S. Navy

Of Boston, Mass. Husband of Jane A. Shedden, sister of Mrs. George W. Riggs.

Unattributed American.  $12\frac{1}{4} \times 10$ .

Gift of George de Geofroy and Comdr. Henry M. Howard, R. N. 49.90.8

262. THOMAS CRAMPHIN, JR. (1739-1830)

Vestryman of Rock Creek Parish, Montgomery County.

Unattributed American. Oil on panel.  $9 \times 7$ .

Gift of Mrs. J. Wistar Evans, granddaughter of subject. 49.104.1

263. PHILIP BARTON KEY DAINGERFIELD (1875-1951)

Son of Henry and Virginia Key Daingerfield. Husband of Elise Carroll Agnus Daingerfield, donor of the Society's "Agnus and Daingerfield Building and Sustaining Fund," and daughter of Felix Agnus (No. 1 and 2 in 1946 catalog).

By Winifred Claude Gordon.  $30 \times 25$ .

Bequest of Mrs. P. B. Key Daingerfield. 43.40.11

264. JOHN DESPEAUX (1794-1826) and son JOHN JOSEPH DESPEAUX (1817-1865)

Son and grandson of Joseph Despeaux (1758-1820), the French emigrant shipbuilder, who fled the native uprising in San Domingo, and settled in Fells Point, Baltimore, establishing a large shipyard in 1793.

Attributed to James L. Wattles, ca. 1825.  $40 \times 36$ .

Gift of estate of James E. Hancock. 50.123.1

265. MRS. JOSEPH DESPEAUX (Frances Dimanche) (1770-1835)  
Daughter of Henri Dimanche, of Baltimore, and his wife Margaret Cassard. Married in 1793 by Bishop John Carroll to Joseph Despeaux (1758-1820) as his second wife.  
Attributed to James L. Wattles, ca. 1825. 30 x 25.  
Gift of estate of James E. Hancock. 50.123.2
266. JOHN ROGERS DIFFENDERFFER and GEORGE STONEBRAKER DIFFENDERFFER  
As children.  
Unattributed American, ca. 1855. 45 x 36.  
Gift of Mrs. Felix Jenkins Diffenderffer. 47.44.1
267. MICHAEL DORSEY, M. D. (d. 1853)  
Of Georgetown, D. C.  
Unattributed American. 36 x 28 $\frac{3}{4}$ .  
Gift of Mrs. Edward Dorsey Ellis. 54.54.1
268. MRS. MICHAEL DORSEY (1805-1880)  
Of Georgetown, D. C.  
Unattributed American. 36 x 28 $\frac{3}{4}$ .  
Gift of Mrs. Edward Dorsey Ellis. 54.54.2
269. DANIEL DULANY (1685-1753), the Elder  
Celebrated lawyer; commissioned Receiver-General, 1733. Judge of the Admiralty, 1734. Married first, Charity Courts; second Rebecca Smith; third Henrietta Maria (Lloyd) Chew.  
By Justus Engelhardt Kühn, ca. 1715. 30 x 25.  
Deposited by the Peabody Institute. 49.1.2
270. GEORGE N. EATON (1811-1874)  
Merchant and banker, native of New York City; president of the Baltimore School Board. Trustee of Peabody Institute.  
Unattributed American. Oval. 29 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 24 $\frac{3}{4}$ . Companion to No. 271.  
Bequest of Mrs. Charles R. Weld (Frances Eaton), daughter of subject. 47.50.2
271. MRS. GEORGE N. EATON (Susan Brimmer Mayhew) (1824-1886)  
Daughter of William E. Mayhew, Baltimore merchant.  
Unattributed American. Oval. 29 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 24 $\frac{3}{4}$ .  
Bequest of Mrs. Charles R. Weld (Frances Eaton). 47.50.3
272. MRS. JOHN ENDERS (Sarah Lambert Ege)  
Of Richmond, Va. Mother of Mrs. Edris Berkley (No. 237) of Baltimore.  
Unattributed American, ca. 1850. 34 x 28.  
Bequest of Dr. Henry J. Berkley, grandson of subject. 46.73.2
273. JAMES PRESCOTT ERSKINE (?) (1793-1881)  
A member of the mercantile firm of Erskine and Eichelberger,

Baltimore. He married in Philadelphia 1834 Amelia Dorsey Riggs, daughter of Romulus Riggs (No. 274).

Unattributed American. 30 x 25.

Gift of George de Geofroy and Comdr. Henry M. Howard,  
R. N. 49.90.15

274. MRS. JAMES PRESCOTT ERSKINE (?) (Amelia Dorsey Riggs) (1813-1885)

Daughter of Romulus and Mercy Ann (Lawrason) Riggs of Georgetown, D. C. and Philadelphia.

Unattributed American. 30 x 25.

Gift of George de Geofroy and Comdr. Henry M. Howard,  
R. N. 49.90.14

275. MRS. EAMENT ETTING

Attributed to Thomas Sully, Jr., ca. 1845. Signed on back of canvas: *Painted/by/Thos. Sully Jr.* Oval. 24 x 20. Offered at auction 1946 by Freeman of Philadelphia, Catalog no. 564.

Deposited by Mr. Joseph Katz. Deposit No. 280 B

276. MRS. SOLOMON ETTING (Shinah Solomon) (1744-1822)

Daughter of Joseph Solomon, merchant of Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Married in November, 1759, to prominent merchant of Lancaster and Baltimore.

Attributed to John Wesley Jarvis when offered at auction in 1946 by Freeman of Philadelphia, Catalog no. 563.

Deposited by Mr. Joseph Katz. Deposit No. 280 A

277. MRS. EVANS

Sister (?) of Peggy O'Neill, wife of Secretary of War John H. Eaton. Said to have married a clergyman.

By George Cooke. Signed: *G. Cooke, 1838.* 30 x 25.

Gift of Mrs. Hattie E. Burdette. 47.45.1

278. JEAN FENTON (Mrs. Frank Kerr) (1861-1923)

Daughter of Aaron Fenton and his wife Rebecca Headington Clark. By Henry (?) Pollack, ca. 1872. Signed: *Pollack.* Oil on panel,

13½ x 11½.

Gift of Mr. Fenton Boggs. 53.66.21

279. LEON FRANK (1810-1895)

Native of Germany. U. S. naturalization papers dated Oct. 3, 1843. Baltimore merchant. Married 1841, Regina Fleishman.

Unattributed American, ca. 1845. 6½ x 5¼. Companion to No. 280.

Gift of Miss Lillian Greif, a granddaughter. 48.34.31

280. MRS. LEON FRANK (Regina Fleishman) (1822-1911)

Wife of above.

Unattributed American, ca. 1845. 6½ x 4½.

Gift of Mrs. Nelson Gutman, a granddaughter. 55.90.1

281. ALEXANDER FRIDGE (1766-1839)  
Of Scotland, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. Teacher, merchant, banker, and churchman. One of the founders of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.  
By Edward Savage. Signed: *E. Savage/1810*. 30 x 25.  
Gift of Misses Charlotte Murdoch Jamieson, Helen Murdoch Simonton and Mary Cole Murdoch, great great nieces of subject. 49.14.1
282. THOMAS GARDINER, SR. (c. 1737-1807)  
Resident of Chaptico neighborhood, St. Mary's County. Son of Richard Gardiner, a brother of Susanna, who married Philip Key (1696-1764) progenitor of Key family of Maryland.  
Unattributed American, ca. 1805. 21 x 17.  
Gift of Miss Lucy Leigh Bowie. 51.105.1
283. HENRY STAUFFER GARRETT (1818-1867)  
Eldest son of Robert Garrett, Sr. Member of Baltimore firm, Robert Garrett and Sons.  
Unattributed American. 24 x 20.  
Gift of Mr. Robert Garrett. 55.89.1
284. FREDERICK GARRETSON, M. D. (ca. 1837—living 1863)  
Born Van Bibber, dropped last name; native of Virginia; surgeon in Confederate States Navy and later of New York City.  
By Frank B. Mayer. Inscribed: *Dr. Fredk. Garretson CSN./F. B. Mayer pinxt/Paris/1863*. Oil on panel.  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ .  
Gift of Misses Betty Carter and Mary V. Goodwin. 52.63.4
285. DAVID GARRICK (1717-1779)  
Famous British actor.  
British school, ca. 1774-1779. 84 x 50.  
Gift of Mr. L. Manuel Hendler. 49.78.1
286. GEORGE III (1738-1820), King of England  
Unattributed European. 33 x 26.  
Deposited by Peabody Institute, C. J. Eaton Collection. 49.1.3
287. TWO YOUNG GIRLS (ca. 1860)  
By Lina C. Browning. 36 x 29  
Bequest of Clarence A. C. Browning. 55.60.3
288. ELIAS GLENN (1769-1846)  
Native of Cecil County; judge of U. S. Circuit Court, Baltimore. Residence "Glenburnie," Franklin and Stricker Streets. In 1836 Judge Glenn administered the oath to Roger B. Taney upon his appointment as Chief Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court.  
Attributed to Philip Tilyard. 24 x 20.  
Gift of estate of John Mark Glenn. 50.122.1



289. JOHN GLENN (1795-1853)  
Son of Elias and Ann Carson Glenn; judge of the U. S. Circuit Court at Baltimore.  
By Thomas Sully. Signed: *T. S./1857*. 24 x 20.  
Gift of estate of John Mark Glenn. 50.122.2
290. MRS. WILLIAM GOLDSBOROUGH (Henrietta Maria Tilghman Robins) (1707-1771) and her grandson, ROBINS CHAMBERLAINE (1768-1773)  
Mrs. Goldsborough was born at "The Hermitage," Queen Anne's County, daughter of Col. Richard Tilghman and his wife Anna Maria Lloyd. Married first George Robins of "Peach Blossom," Talbot County; secondly Judge Goldsborough, brother-in-law of her former husband. Young Master Robins Chamberlaine was the son of James Lloyd Chamberlaine and Henrietta Maria Robins.  
By Charles Willson Peale after John Hesselius. 36 x 29.  
Gift of Mr. John Goldsborough Earle. 53.139.1
291. FRANK DORSEY GRAFFLIN (1857-1938) and EMMA CLAIR GRAFFLIN (1860-1950)  
Children of John Clarke Grafflin (1828-1888) of Baltimore and his wife Susan Swope Keener, daughter of Christian Keener and wife Mary Clare Brice (No. 309).  
By James K. Harley. Signed: *J. K. Harley / Balto. Md. / 1862*. 21 x 17.  
Gift of Miss Edith Brice Grafflin. 50.68.1
292. JOHN JAMES GRAVES, M. D. (1800-1889)  
Of New York, a graduate of the College of Physicians and Surgeons (now Columbia University). Came to Baltimore in 1831. Married Ann Jane Baker. Member of the Maryland Legislature and Tax Collector.  
By Robert Walter Weir, ca. 1840. Oil on panel. 10 x 8.  
Gift of Miss Anna Melissa Graves. 49.61.1
293. MRS. JOHN JAMES GRAVES (Ann Jane Baker) (c. 1803-1878)  
Of Baltimore. Daughter of William Baker, Jr. (1781-1867), of "Friendsbury" (No. 232). Granddaughter of William and Ann (Burneston) Baker (No. 6 and 7, in 1946 catalog).  
Attributed to Hans Heinrich Bebie. Oil on panel. 10½ x 8½.  
Gift of Miss Anna Melissa Graves. 46.81.1
294. MRS. ISRAEL GRIFFITH (Sarah Ann Griffith) (1803-1877)  
Daughter of Col. Philemon Griffith, cousin of her husband, a merchant of Baltimore. (See Nos. 82, 83, 84, and 85 in 1946 catalog).  
By Oliver T. Eddy. Oil on panel. 48 x 36.  
Gift of Mrs. C. S. Robson, Mrs. L. Farnandis Hughes, Miss Mary Eleanor Farnandis, Mrs. Arthur C. Montell, Jr., W.

Walter Farnandis, Mrs. James Hurley and Mrs. Herbert A. Rossman. 48.73.1

295. THOMAS WATERS GRIFFITH (1767-1838)  
Native of Baltimore. Consul at Havre under Washington; historian, author of *Annals of Baltimore*.  
By Caleb Boyle ca. 1810-1815 after a miniature painted in France, 1791-1799. 30 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 25.  
Gift of Mrs. Boudinot S. L. Davis. 53.119.1
296. "THE GUIDE OR SCOUT"  
By Alfred J. Miller. Signed, cipher: *A J M.* 5 x 7.  
Gift of Mrs. W. C. Bode. 51.115.1
297. MRS. WILLIAM F. HALSEY  
Of Philadelphia.  
Unattributed American. 35 $\frac{3}{4}$  x 28 $\frac{3}{4}$ .  
Bequest of Mrs. Charles R. Weld. 47.50.4
298. W. HALL HARRIS (1852-1938)  
Native Baltimorean, son of James Morrison and Sidney Calhoun Harris. Lawyer; Postmaster of Baltimore; President of the Maryland Historical Society, 1920-1935.  
By Thomas C. Corner, 1928. 30 x 28 $\frac{1}{4}$ .  
Gift of estate of the subject. 35.36.1
299. MRS. JOSEPH HASKINS (Sarah Barclay)  
Daughter of Rev. John Barclay, rector of St. Peter's Parish, Talbot County, and his wife Rachel Goldsborough. (See No. 234, portrait of subject's mother, also by C. W. Peale.)  
By Charles Willson Peale, ca. 1790. 36 x 27.  
Gift of Miss Ellen J. Dennis. 48.21.2
300. WILLIAM HILLIARD HEBB  
Of St. Mary's County and Baltimore.  
Attributed to Kohn. 24 x 20.  
Gift of Misses E. R. and E. P. Hebb, daughters of subject. 50.114.2
301. MRS. WILLIAM HILLIARD HEBB (Caroline Ann Penn)  
Daughter of Alexander Crawley Penn of St. Mary's County, wife of above.  
Unattributed American. 24 x 20.  
Gift of Misses E. R. and E. P. Hebb, daughters of subject. 50.114.3
302. HENRIETTA MARIA (1609-1669), Queen of England  
Consort of Charles I. (Another portrait of this subject is included in 1946 catalog, No. 94.)  
British school, seventeenth century copy. Oil on panel. 12 x 9.  
Gift of Randolph Mordecai. 46.117.1

303. THOMAS HOLLIDAY HICKS (1798-1865)  
Native of Dorchester County. Governor of Maryland 1858-1862.  
United States Senator 1862-1865.  
Unattributed American. 64 x 44 $\frac{1}{2}$ .  
Gift of Captain Chaplin Hicks, U. S. N. 49.32.1
304. WILLIAM HINDMAN (1743-1822)  
Wealthy planter, lawyer and statesman of Talbot County. Born in Dorchester County, 2nd son of Jacob Hindman and his wife Mary Trippe; member of Committee of Observation, 1775; State Convention; Treasurer of Eastern Shore; state senator; member of Continental Congress; U. S. Representative 1793-99 and Senator, 1800-1801.  
By John Wesley Jarvis. 34 x 27.  
Gift of Miss Elsie Murdoch Bond. 50.23.1
305. BENJAMIN CHEW HOWARD (1791-1872)  
Son of John Eager Howard (1752-1827) of "Belvidere," Baltimore (No. 100 in 1946 catalog). Member of Congress, Reporter to the U. S. Supreme Court.  
By Thomas W. Wood. Signed: *T. W. Wood / May '56*. Oil on paper. 10 x 7.  
Deposited by John Eager Howard of B. Deposit No. 283
306. ITALIAN BOY WITH HURDY GURDY  
By Richard Caton Woodville (1825-1855). Signed: *R. C. W.*  
36 x 27 $\frac{3}{4}$ .  
Deposited by Maryland Club, Baltimore. Deposit No. 346
307. ANDREW JACKSON (1767-1845)  
Lawyer, General, seventh President of the United States.  
By Chinese artist. Oil under glass. 12 $\frac{3}{4}$  x 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ .  
Gift of Mr. Thomas Chew Worthington, III. 50.120.1
308. JOHN JOHNSON (1770-1824) and older brother ROBERT (b. 1766) or GEORGE (1768-1841 ?)  
Young sons of Robert Johnson (d. 1773), Annapolis inn-holder. John was a distinguished Maryland jurist, appointed Attorney General 1806 and Chancellor in 1821. He married Deborah Ghiselin (1771-1850) and was the father of Reverdy Johnson, constitutional lawyer, statesman and diplomat (No. 105 in 1946 catalog).  
By Charles Willson Peale, ca. 1774. 50 x 40.  
Gift of Clayton M. Hall. 47.28.1
309. MRS. CHRISTIAN KEENER (Mary Clair Brice) (1797-1867)  
Eldest daughter of John Brice (1770-1850) of Annapolis and Baltimore and his wife Sarah Lane. Christian Keener (1795-1860)

was the son of Melchior Keener, prominent and wealthy Baltimore flour, wine and silk merchant.

By James K. Harley. Signed: *J. K. Harley / 1865*. 30 x 25.

Gift of Miss Edith Brice Grafflin. 50.68.2

310. CHILDREN OF DAVID KERR, JR. (1782-1814) of Easton, Talbot County: WILLIAM PERRY (1806-1833), JOHN LEEDS NESMITH (c. 1808-1840), DAVID KERR, III (1811-1876), and SARAH MARIA (1814-1870) (Mrs. Philip Francis Thomas)

Attributed to David W. Boudet, ca. 1816. Oil on panel,  $53\frac{1}{4} \times 37\frac{1}{2}$ .

Presented by Mrs. Robert A. Dobbin and her children in memory of her sister, Miss Elizabeth Tilghman Hemsley. 55.62.1

311. FRANCIS KEY (1732-1770)

Son of Hon. Philip Key (1676-1764) and his wife Susannah Gardiner. Clerk of the Court in Cecil County. Grandfather of Francis Scott Key.

By John Wollaston, ca. 1755.  $49\frac{1}{2} \times 38\frac{3}{4}$ .

Gift of Mrs. Thomas C. Jenkins in memory of Mrs. George C. Jenkins (Mary Catherine Key). 52.15.5

312. MRS. FRANCIS KEY (Ann Arnold Ross) (1727-1811)

Daughter of John and Alicia Arnold Ross. Grandmother of Francis Scott Key.

By John Wollaston, ca. 1755.  $49\frac{1}{2} \times 38\frac{3}{4}$ .

Gift of Mrs. Thomas C. Jenkins in memory of Mrs. George C. Jenkins (Mary Catherine Key). 52.15.6

313. FRANCIS SCOTT KEY (1779-1843)

Son of John Ross Key of "Terra Rubra" Carroll County, and his wife Ann Phoebe Charlton. He married in 1802 Mary Tayloe Lloyd, daughter of Col. Edward Lloyd. Lawyer; author of the "Star-Spangled Banner."

By D. Clinton Peters after original attributed to Rembrandt Peale. 30 x 25.

Gift of Mrs. Thomas C. Jenkins in memory of Mrs. George C. Jenkins (Mary Catherine Key). 52.15.10

314. PHILIP BARTON KEY (1757-1815)

Distinguished lawyer and Loyalist. Son of Francis Key, he became Chief Judge of the U. S. Circuit Court, 1801; Representative in Congress, 1807-13. Uncle of Francis Scott Key, who was associated in practice with him in Georgetown, D. C.

By D. Clinton Peters after Bouché, ca. 1798.  $30\frac{3}{8} \times 25\frac{3}{8}$ .

Gift of Mrs. Thomas C. Jenkins in memory of Mrs. George C. Jenkins (Mary Catherine Key). 52.15.8



315. MRS. PHILIP BARTON KEY (Anne Plater) (1772-1834)  
 Daughter of Hon. George Plater of "Sotterley," Governor of Maryland, and great aunt of Mrs. Henry Greenfield Sothoron Key (Henrietta Tayloe). (See No. 376.)  
 By D. Clinton Peters after Bouché. 30 $\frac{3}{8}$  x 25 $\frac{3}{8}$ .  
 Gift of Mrs. Thomas C. Jenkins in memory of Mrs. George C. Jenkins (Mary Catherine Key). 52.15.9
316. HENRY IRVINE KEYSER (1837-1916)  
 Native Baltimorean, son of Samuel and Elizabeth Wyman Keyser. Financier and philanthropist, in whose memory the Keyser Memorial Buildings were given to The Maryland Historical Society by his widow, Mary Washington Keyser.  
 By Thomas C. Corner, 1918. 30 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 25.  
 Gift of Mrs. H. Irvine Keyser. 18.11.4
317. JOSEPH KING, JR. (1784-1865)  
 Quaker. Son of Thomas and Jane E. (Storey) King. Shipping merchant and Baltimore school commissioner.  
 Unattributed American. 30 x 25. Companion to No. 318.  
 Gift of Miss Helen H. Carey. 51.31.1
318. MRS. JOSEPH KING, JR. (Tacy Ellicott) (1795-1872)  
 Daughter of Elias and Mary (Thomas) Ellicott; married 1817 at the Lombard Street Meeting House.  
 Unattributed American. 30 x 25.  
 Gift of Miss Helen H. Carey. 51.31.2
319. MICHAEL LATY (1826-1848)  
 Native of Baltimore County, son of a local shipbuilder of French extraction. His untimely death cut short a promising career as portrait painter.  
 Self portrait; signed: *M. Laty 1846*. 30 x 25.  
 Gift of Mr. and Mrs. William W. Woodward. 48.72.1
320. MRS. GEORGE SINGLETON LEIGH (Sophia Leeds Kerr) (1802-1843)  
 Daughter of John Leeds Kerr by his first wife Sarah Hollyday Chamberlaine of Easton, Talbot County. Married in 1823, and lived at "Woodbury," St. Mary's County.  
 Unattributed American, ca. 1816, Oil on panel. 27 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ .  
 Gift of Miss Lucy Leigh Bowie. 51.105.3
321. JOHN LEIGH (1774-1832)  
 Of "Woodbury," St. Mary's County; planter, lawyer, state senator; married (1) Ann Thomas and (2) her sister, Lucretia Leeds Thomas of Talbot County, daughters of William Thomas, Jr. (1735-1790) and his wife Rachel Leeds of "Anderton," Talbot County.  
 By John Beale Bordley after a miniature. 30 x 25.  
 Gift of Miss Lucy Leigh Bowie. 51.105.2

322. DANIEL MCPHAIL (1813-1884)  
 Captain and Brevet-Major in the Mexican War; Colonel of volunteers in the Civil War.  
 Unattributed American. 34 x 26.  
 Gift of Mrs. Katherine McPhail Ellicott, great great niece of the subject. 49.20.1
323. WILLIAM MCPHAIL (c. 1805-1880)  
 Baltimore merchant, hatter; President, first Branch of City Council.  
 Unattributed American. Oval, composition board, 11 $\frac{3}{4}$  x 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ .  
 Gift of Miss Ida McPhail. 55.36.1
324. JOHN MCTAVISH (1787-1852)  
 Born in Invernessshire, Scotland, later of Montreal, Canada. British consul at Baltimore. Married at Doughoregan Manor August 15, 1816, Emily Caton, granddaughter of Charles Carroll of Carrollton (No. 23 in 1946 catalog).  
 By William J. Hubbard. Oil on panel. 24 x 14 $\frac{3}{4}$ .  
 Gift of J. Gilman D'Arcy Paul. 46.69.1
325. AMBROSE MARÉCHAL, S. S. (1769-1828)  
 Native of France. Third Roman Catholic Archbishop of Baltimore, 1817-1828.  
 By Philip Tilyard. 29 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 24 $\frac{1}{4}$ .  
 Gift of the Rev. Thomas A. Whelan. 55.55.1
326. MRS. NICHOLAS MARTIN (Sarah Glen) (Mrs. Douglas Stuart) (1790-1829)  
 Of "Walnut Grove," Talbot County.  
 Attributed to Rembrandt Peale. 19 $\frac{3}{4}$  x 14.  
 Deposited by Mrs. Henry Lockhart, III. Deposit No. 354
327. BRANTZ MAYER (1809-1878)  
 Son of Christian Mayer (1763-1842), Baltimore merchant and consul general of Wurtemberg. Lawyer and author, one of the founders and second President of the Maryland Historical Society; Brigadier General U. S. A. in Civil War.  
 Unattributed. Oval. 24 x 20.  
 Bequest of Mrs. Christine W. C. Roszel, widow of the subject's grandson, Col. Brantz Mayer Roszel. 54.58.1
328. CHARLES FREDERICK MAYER, SR. (1795-1864)  
 Son of Christian Mayer, elder brother of Brantz Mayer. Eminent lawyer, state senator and a founder of the Maryland Historical Society.  
 Unattributed American. Oval, 24 x 20.  
 Gift of the estate of Charles Mayer Van Kleeck. 51.75.1
329. CHARLES FREDERICK MAYER, JR. (1832-1888)  
 Son of C. F. Mayer, Sr., by his second wife Eliza Caldwell Black-

well. Engineer, officer in U. S. Navy under Farragut in the capture of New Orleans. Retired 1867.

By Frank B. Mayer. Signed: *FM / 1859*. 24 x 20.

Gift of the estate of Charles Mayer Van Kleeck. 51.75.2

330. ALEXANDER FERGUSON MORRISON (1804-1857)

Born in Bath, N. Y. Moved to Indianapolis, Ind., 1831. Major U. S. Army; Commissary in Mexican War; pension agent for Indians under President Pierce.

Unattributed American. 30 x 25.

Gift of Mrs. Ida Morrison Murphy Shirk. 46.66.1

331. MRS. ALEXANDER FERGUSON MORRISON (Ann Owens Talbott) (1807-1875)

Born in Georgetown, Ky.; grandmother of donor.

Unattributed American. 30 x 25.

Gift of Mrs. Ida Morrison Murphy Shirk. 46.66.2

332. MAN OF MUDD FAMILY

Of Charles County, Maryland.

By James A. Simpson. Inscribed on back of relined canvas: *Painted by James A. Simpson / Jan. 26, 1849*. 30 x 25.

Deposited by Mr. Joseph Katz. Deposit No. 388

333. WOMAN OF MUDD FAMILY

Of Charles County, Md. Companion portrait of above.

By James A. Simpson. Inscribed on back of relined canvas: *Painted by James A. Simpson / Jan. 26, 1849*. 30 x 25.

Deposited by Mr. Joseph Katz. Deposit No. 388

334. "NEWSBOY"

Holding copies of *The Sun*.

Unattributed American, ca. 1895. Art board, 14 x 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ .

Gift of Mrs. William F. Renner. 54.32.1

335. WILLIAM B. PACA (1801-1870)

Son of John Philemon Paca (1771-1840) and his wife, Juliana Tilghman. He married in 1829 J. Martha Phillips.

Unattributed American. 30 x 25.

Deposited by Peabody Institute: W. B. Paca bequest. 49.1.2

336. GEORGE PEABODY (1795-1879)

International merchant, banker and philanthropist, founder of the Peabody Institute, Baltimore.

By Chester Harding, ca. 1835. 30 x 25.

Bequest of Mrs. Charles R. Weld. 47.50.1

337. ALEXANDER CRAWLEY PENN

Of St. Mary's County, Maryland.

Unattributed American, ca. 1845. Oval, 36 x 29.

Gift of Misses E. R. and E. P. Hebb, maternal granddaughters of subject. 50.114.1

338. WILLIAM PINKNEY (1810-1883)  
 Episcopal Bishop of Maryland. Native of Annapolis, son of Ninian and Amelia Grason (Hobbs) Pinkney; graduate of St. John's College. Married in 1838 at "Blenheim," Prince George's County, Elizabeth Tayloe Lowndes, daughter of Richard T. Lowndes.  
 By L. M. D. Guillaume. 30 x 25.  
 Gift of William Pinkney Wetherall, great grandson of subject. 46.94.1
339. MRS. ENOCH PRATT (Maria Louisa Hyde) (1818-1913)  
 Daughter of Samuel G. and Catherine Hyde of Baltimore.  
 By T. Buchanan Read. Signed: *T. Buchanan Read 1860*. Oval, 27 x 22.  
 Purchase. 51.105.1
340. GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE (1877- )  
 Native of Dorchester County; lawyer, secretary of state of Maryland; U. S. Senator, 1935-1947. President of the Maryland Historical Society, 1938—.  
 By Trafford Partridge Klots. Signed: *Trafford Klots '52*. 36½ x 27¾.  
 Gift of Samuel K. Dennis and associates. 52.50.1
341. MRS. RAWLINGS (née Ross) (c. 1700- ? )  
 Daughter of Henry Ross of London, and sister of the Hon. John Ross of Maryland. Identified by the Brice family, former owners, as "Lady in Green."  
 By British school, ca. 1725. 28½ x 23½.  
 Gift of Mr. John F. Joline, III. 52.22.1
342. WOMAN OF THE RIDGELY FAMILY (Mrs. John or Charles Ridgely of Hampton ?)  
 By James A. Simpson. Signed: *J. A. Simpson Pinxt 1835*. 27 x 23½.  
 Gift of Dr. William D. Hoyt and the Messrs. John S. and Robert S. Hoyt through Society for Preservation of Maryland Antiquities. 53.91.1
343. CLINTON LEVERING RIGGS (1866-1938)  
 Of Baltimore and Baltimore County; engineer; Major in the Spanish-American War, Adjutant General of Maryland, 1904-08; Commissioner to the Philippine Islands, 1913-1915. President of the Maryland Historical Society, 1935-1938.  
 By Brooke Levering after Thomas C. Corner. 28 x 36.  
 Gift of Richard C. Riggs and Mrs. Thomas H. G. Balliere. 43.8.1
344. ELISHA RIGGS (1779-1853)  
 Son of Samuel Riggs and Amelia Dorsey. Merchant and banker



of Georgetown, D. C., Baltimore and New York. Partner of George Peabody.

By James Bogle, ca. 1840. 30 x 25.

Gift of George de Geofroy and Comdr. Henry M. Howard,  
R. N. 49.90.19

345. MRS. ELISHA RIGGS (Alice Lawrason) (1792-1817)

Daughter of James and Alice (Levering) Lawrason of Alexandria, Va. First wife of Elisha Riggs.

By Cephas Thompson. 38 x 26½.

Gift of George de Geofroy and Comdr. Henry M. Howard,  
R. N. 49.90.21

346. MRS. ELISHA RIGGS (Alice Lawrason) (1792-1817)

By James Bogle, posthumous portrait based on No. 345. 30 x 25.

Gift of George de Geofroy and Comdr. Henry M. Howard,  
R. N. 49.90.17

347. GEORGE WASHINGTON RIGGS (1813-1881)

Son of Elisha. Banker of Washington, D. C., partner of W. W. Corcoran in firm of Corcoran & Riggs; founder of Riggs & Co.

By Charles L. Elliott. Signed and dated: *Elliott / 1867*. 34 x 27.

Gift of George de Geofroy and Comdr. Henry M. Howard,  
R. N. 49.90.10

348. MRS. GEORGE W. RIGGS (Janet M. C. Shedden) (1815-1871) and son GEORGE SHEDDEN RIGGS (1849-1856)

By Emmanuel Leutze. Signed: *E. Leutze / 1852*. 42 x 35.

Gift of George de Geofroy and Comdr. Henry M. Howard,  
R. N. 49.90.11

349. GEORGE SHEDDEN RIGGS (1849-1856)

Eldest son of George W. Riggs.

Unattributed American, ca. 1853. Oval, 21 x 17.

Gift of George de Geofroy and Comdr. Henry M. Howard,  
R. N. 49.90.1

350. SAMUEL RIGGS (1740-1814)

Of "Pleasant Hill" near Brookeville, Montgomery County, Md.

Unattributed American, ca. 1810. Oil on panel, 32 x 26.

Gift of George de Geofroy and Comdr. Henry M. Howard,  
R. N. 49.90.22

351. ALBERT RITCHIE (1834-1903)

Born in Frederick, Md. Son of Dr. Albert Ritchie by his wife Catherine L. Davis. Lawyer, judge of the Baltimore Supreme Bench; President of the Maryland Historical Society (1896-1903). Father of Albert C. Ritchie, Governor of Maryland.

By Louis P. Dieterich. 30 x 25.

Collection of the Society. 04.3.1

352. ALBERT CABELL RITCHIE (1876-1936)  
 Son of Judge Albert Ritchie and his wife Elizabeth Caskie Cabell of Richmond, Virginia. Lawyer, and four times Governor of Maryland, 1920-1935.  
 By J. W. Wilkinson.  $30\frac{5}{16} \times 20$ .  
 The Ritchie Collection. 36.18.2
353. NICHOLAS ROGERS, IV (1753-1822)  
 Son of Nicholas Rogers, III (1721-1762) and his wife Henrietta Jones. Colonel in Revolutionary Army and aide to Gen. Ducoudray and later Baron de Kalb. Owner of "Druid Hill," Baltimore. Married 1783 his cousin Eleanor Buchanan (1757-1812).  
 By John Wesley Jarvis, 1811. Oil on panel,  $33\frac{1}{8} \times 27$ .  
 Gift of Mrs. J. H. Ten Eyck Burr. 50.103.1
354. JOHN ROSS (1696-1766)  
 Born in England, settled in Annapolis and built "Belvoir," Anne Arundel County. Clerk of the Provincial Council, 1729-1764; great grandfather of Francis Scott Key.  
 By John Wollaston.  $50 \times 42\frac{1}{2}$ .  
 Deposited by Mrs. E. J. Bliss and Mr. Nevett S. Bartow.  
 Deposit No. 386
355. JOHN ROSS (1696-1766)  
 (See No. 354.)  
 By Gustavus Hesselius.  $30 \times 25$ .  
 Gift of Mrs. Thomas C. Jenkins in memory of Mrs. George C. Jenkins (Mary Catherine Key). 52.15.1
356. MRS. JOHN ROSS (Alicia Arnold) (1700-1746)  
 Daughter of Michael Arnold of Westminster, London. (See No. 229.) Great grandmother of Francis Scott Key.  
 By Gustavus Hesselius,  $31\frac{1}{2} \times 25$ .  
 Gift of Mrs. Thomas C. Jenkins in memory of Mrs. George C. Jenkins (Mary Catherine Key). 52.15.2
357. MAN OF SCHROEDER FAMILY  
 Of Baltimore, Md.  
 Unattributed American, ca. 1870's.  $30 \times 25$ .  
 Gift of Dr. and Mrs. Merrell L. Stout. 55.47.1
358. MRS. UPTON SCOTT (Elizabeth Ross) (1730-1819)  
 Younger daughter of John and Alicia Ross; wife of Dr. Upton Scott, native Scot, Clerk of the Council of Maryland; Tory in the Revolution. Sister of Mrs. Francis Key (No. 312). Francis Scott Key while a student at St. John's College lived much with his aunt, Mrs. Scott.  
 By John Wollaston, ca. 1755.  $50 \times 42\frac{1}{2}$ .  
 Deposited by Mrs. E. J. Bliss and Mr. Nevett S. Bartow.  
 Deposit No. 386.

359. MRS. THOMAS W. SHEDDEN (Matilda Cecilia Dowdall) (1781-1855)  
Of New York and Newark, N. J. Mother of Mrs. George W. Riggs, No. 348.  
By James Bogle, 1847. 30 x 25.  
Gift of George de Geofroy and Comdr. Henry M. Howard, R. N. 49.90.7
360. DAVID STEUART (1751-1814)  
Son of Dr. George Steuart, and older brother of James, No. 365.  
Removed to England and became an officer in the British army.  
Copy after unknown artist. Oval, oil on panel, 10 x 8.  
Gift of estate of James E. Steuart. 55.18.5
361. FRANCES ANN STEUART (1833-1838)  
Daughter of Mr. & Mrs. George Steuart of Baltimore, Nos. 362 and 363.  
Unattributed American, ca. 1840. 30 x 25.  
Bequest of Mrs. Michael B. Wild. 51.50.4
362. GEORGE STEUART (1803-1850)  
Son of William Steuart (1760-1846). Married 1831 Sophia Rieman.  
Unattributed American. 35 x 31 $\frac{1}{4}$ .  
Bequest of Mrs. Michael B. Wild, granddaughter of subject. 51.50.2
363. MRS. GEORGE STEUART (Sophia Rieman) (1810-1886)  
Eldest daughter of Henry Rieman (1786-1805) of Baltimore.  
Unattributed American. 35 x 31 $\frac{1}{4}$ .  
Bequest of Mrs. Michael B. Wild. 51.50.3
364. GEORGE HUME STEUART (1828-1903)  
Son of Maj. Gen. George H. Steuart; graduate of West Point; Brigadier General Confederate Army. Served through Civil War and afterwards met the artist in Paris. Retired to "Mt Steuart," Anne Arundel County.  
By Frank B. Mayer. Signed: *FM* 1866. Panel, 10 $\frac{5}{8}$  x 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ .  
Gift of estate of James E. Steuart, nephew of subject. 55.18.1
365. JAMES STEUART, M. D. (1755-1846)  
Of "Maryland Square," Baltimore. Son of Dr. George Steuart (d. 1780) of Annapolis, and his wife Anne Digges. Educated at Edinburgh; practiced in Annapolis and Baltimore. Married Rebecca Sprigg of "Strawberry Hill," Annapolis.  
Unattributed American. 30 x 25.  
Gift of estate of James E. Steuart. 55.18.3
366. MAN OF STEUART FAMILY (18th century)  
Late 19th century copy after unknown artist. 38 x 32 $\frac{1}{4}$ .  
Gift of estate of James E. Steuart. 55.18.10

367. WILLIAM STEUART (1760-1846)  
Of Baltimore; Lieutenant in American Revolution; married Mary Scott.  
Unattributed American. 35 x 31 $\frac{1}{4}$  (sight).  
Bequest of Mrs. Michael B. Wild, great granddaughter of subject. 51.50.1
368. WOMAN OF STEUART FAMILY (ca. 1865)  
Unattributed American. Oval, 27 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 22 $\frac{1}{4}$ .  
Gift of estate of James E. Steuart. 55.18.9
369. ALEXANDER STUART (1812-1853)  
Son of William R. and Ariana Frazer Stuart, of Queen Anne's County. (See No. 372.) Died in New Orleans during yellow fever epidemic.  
Attributed to Thomas Sully. 32 x 25.  
Gift of the Misses Rose and Ottilie Sutro. 52.13.3
370. MRS. ALEXANDER STUART (Matilda Ellmaker)  
Of Philadelphia. Married secondly Dr. John Chambers, pastor of Fayette Street Presbyterian Church, Baltimore.  
Attributed to Thomas Sully. 30 x 25.  
Gift of the Misses Sutro. 52.13.5
371. ANDREW STUART (1788- )  
Son of Alexander Stuart by his wife Sarah Rasin, and brother of W. R. Stuart, No. 372. United States Consul to Manila, P. I., 1817-1820.  
Attributed to Rembrandt Peale. 24 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 20.  
Gift of the Misses Sutro. 52.13.2
372. WILLIAM R. STUART (1780-1852)  
Son of Alexander and Sarah Rasin Stuart. Married 1805 Ariana Frazer; residence Queen Anne's County. Speaker of the Maryland House of Delegates, 1821; president of Maryland senate 1825 and reelected five consecutive terms; conferred upon Lafayette hereditary U. S. citizenship in 1824. Removed to New Orleans.  
Attributed to Thomas Sully. 32 x 25.  
Gift of the Misses Sutro, great granddaughters of the subject. 52.13.4
373. MRS. EMANUEL S. SUTRO (Rosa Hasselbeck) (1802-1883)  
Paternal grandmother of donors.  
By David S. Pope, ca. 1880. 27 x 22.  
Gift of the Misses Sutro. 52.13.1



## 374. OTTO SUTRO (1833-1896)

Native of Aachen, Germany; graduate of Royal Conservatory of Music, Brussels; came to Baltimore, 1851. Founder of Oratorio Society and Wednesday Club, and organized first branch of Wagner Society in U. S. His wife was Arianna Handy, daughter of A.H.

Handy and Susan Stuart Handy, daughter of William R. Stuart (No. 372).

By David Neal, 1890. 26 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 22.

Gift of the Misses Sutro, daughters of subject. 52.13.6

## 375. ROGER BROOKE TANEY (1777-1864)

Native of Calvert County, son of Michael and Monica Brooke Taney. Admitted to the Maryland bar, 1799; Attorney General of the United States, Secretary of the Treasury and Chief Justice, 1836-1864, of the United States. Married in 1806 Anne Phoebe Key, sister of Francis Scott Key.

By Oscar Hallwig. Signed: *Oscar Hallwig*. 46 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 34.

Gift of Francis T. Homer. 21.5.1

## 376. MRS. JOHN TAYLOE, III (Ann Ogle) (1772-1855) and daughters, HENRIETTA HILL TAYLOE (Mrs. Henry Greenfield Sothoron Key) (1794-1832) and REBECCA PLATER TAYLOE (infant) (1797-c. 1800)

Mrs. Tayloe was the daughter of Governor Benjamin Ogle of Maryland and wife of the master of "Mt. Airy" on the Rappahannock River, Virginia. Mrs. Key became mistress of "Tudor Hall," St. Mary's County.

By Bouché. Signed: *Bouché pinxt.* 1799. 38 x 30 $\frac{1}{2}$ .

Gift of Mrs. Thomas C. Jenkins in memory of Mrs. George C. Jenkins (Mary Catharine Key). 52.15.7

## 377. ZACHARY TAYLOR (1784-1858)

12th President of the United States. Married in 1810 Margaret Mackall Smith, daughter of Walter Smith of Southern Maryland.

Unattributed American. 24 x 20.

Gift of estate of James E. Steuart. 55.18.4

## 378. HUGH THOMPSON (1760-1826)

Native of Ireland; settled in Baltimore 1784; merchant and ship owner; lived at "Liliendale," part of which is now the campus of Johns Hopkins University. One time partner of Robert Oliver, Baltimore merchant.

Attributed to John Wesley Jarvis. 30 x 25.

Gift of estate of James E. Steuart. 55.18.2

379. MRS. HUGH THOMPSON (Elizabeth Sprigg) (1770-1814)  
 Daughter of Richard Sprigg, first Chancellor of Maryland, by his wife, Margaret Caile of "Strawberry Hill" and "Cedar Park," Anne Arundel County (No. 197 in 1946 catalog).  
 Unattributed American. 13 $\frac{5}{8}$  x 11.  
 Gift of estate of James E. Steuart. 55.18.6
380. MATTHEW TILGHMAN (1718-1790)  
 Of "Bayside," Talbot County, a son of Richard Tilghman of "The Hermitage." Justice; Burgess; chairman of Committee of Correspondence 1774; and Council of Safety 1775; President Maryland Convention 1774-1776; member of Congress 1774-1777; state senator 1771-81. He has been called "the Father of the Revolution in Maryland."  
 By John Hesselius. 29 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 24 $\frac{1}{2}$ .  
 Deposited by Mr. Tench Tilghman Marye. Deposit No. 330-A
381. MRS. MATTHEW TILGHMAN (Anna Lloyd) (1723-1794)  
 Daughter of James Lloyd (1680-1723) by his wife Anne Grundy, of Talbot County.  
 By John Hesselius. 30 x 24.  
 Deposited by Mr. Tench Tilghman Marye. Deposit No. 330-B
382. ADALBERT JOHN VOLCK (1828-1912)  
 Native of Germany, who settled in Baltimore in 1849; dentist, artist, sculptor and caricaturist. (No. 201 in 1946 catalog.)  
 Self portrait. 27 x 22.  
 Gift to F. H. Falkenburg, son-in-law of Volck. 50.69.2
383. FREDERICK VOLCK (1833-1891)  
 Of Baltimore; native of Germany, sculptor; brother of A. J. Volck.  
 By A. J. Volck. 27 x 22.  
 Gift of artist's son-in-law; F. H. Falkenburg. 50.69.1
384. CHARLES VOLKMAR (1784-1870)  
 By Charles Volkmar, Jr., son of subject. 25 x 20.  
 Gift of Mrs. Harry E. Volkmar, widow of great grandson of subject. 47.48.1
385. MRS. CHARLES VOLKMAR (Elizabeth ————)  
 By Charles Volkmar, Jr., son of subject. 25 x 20.  
 Gift of Mrs. Harry E. Volkmar. 47.48.2
386. EDWIN WARFIELD (1848-1920)  
 Born at "Oakdale," Howard County, son of Albert G. and Margaret Gassaway Watkins Warfield. Founder and president Fidelity and Deposit Co. of Maryland; Governor of Maryland, 1904-1908. President of the Maryland Historical Society, 1913-1920.  
 By Thomas C. Corner, 1924. 32 x 25.  
 Collection of the Society. 21.24.1

387. SOLOMON DAVIES WARFIELD (1859-1927)  
 Son of Henry Mactier Warfield and Anna Emory Warfield. Manufacturer, Postmaster of Baltimore, railway president, and financier.  
 By Benedict A. Osnis.  $49\frac{1}{2} \times 25\frac{1}{4}$ .  
 Gift of The Anna Emory Warfield Memorial Fund, Inc. 55.64.1
388. GEORGE WASHINGTON (1732-1799)  
 First President of the United States.  
 By a Chinese artist after Gilbert Stuart. Oil under glass.  $30 \times 25$ .  
 Gift of Miss Ella Warden. 43.30.1
389. GEORGE WASHINGTON (1732-1799)  
 By a Chinese artist after Gilbert Stuart. (Duplicate, except in size, of No. 388.) Oval, oil under glass.  $21 \times 17$ .  
 On loan to Washington College, Chestertown, Md.  
 Bequest of Miss Carolyn Norris Horwitz. 53.71.1
390. DAVID WEEMS, II (1751-1820)  
 Shipbuilder and mariner of Herring Bay, Anne Arundel County. Father of George Weems, who established the Weems Line of steamers on the Chesapeake Bay.  
 Unattributed American after 18th century miniature.  $24 \times 20$ .  
 Gift of the Misses Matilda Weems Williams and Elizabeth Chew Williams. 51.73.1
391. LYDIA JANE WELDE (1856-1865)  
 By J. (?) F. Blume, 1874.  $48 \times 36$ .  
 Gift of Mrs. Charles L. Nake and Mrs. Robert Ashe. 5.111.1
392. GEORGE WILLIAM WEST (1770-1795)  
 Young Baltimore artist. Born in St. Mary's County, son of the Rev. William West, later rector of St. Paul's Parish, Baltimore. A pupil of Benjamin West.  
 By Benjamin West.  $34 \times 26$ .  
 Deposited by Dr. William S. Hall. Deposit No. 322
393. JAMES WHITFIELD (1770-1834)  
 Native of England. Fourth Roman Catholic Archbishop of Baltimore, 1828-1834.  
 Unattributed American.  $30 \times 24\frac{3}{4}$ .  
 Gift of the Rev. Thomas A. Whelan. 55.55.2
394. UNKNOWN MAN  
 Unattributed American.  $30 \times 25$ .  
 Gift of Mrs. Florence Hendler Caplan. 50.115.3
395. UNKNOWN MAN  
 Unattributed American.  $12\frac{1}{2} \times 10$ .  
 Gift of Mrs. Florence Hendler Caplan. 50.115.4

396. UNKNOWN MAN  
By A. J. Volck.  $13\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$ .  
Gift of Mr. F. H. Falkinburg. 50.69.54
397. UNKNOWN MAN  
By A. J. Volck.  $15\frac{1}{4} \times 12\frac{1}{2}$ .  
Gift of Mr. F. H. Falkinburg. 50.69.55
398. UNKNOWN MAN, 17th century  
Brice family ancestor. (Key-Ross-Arnold-Knipe?)  
British school of Sir Godfrey Kneller.  $27\frac{1}{4} \times 22\frac{3}{4}$  (sight).  
Gift of Mr. Arthur T. Brice. 51.32.1
399. UNKNOWN WOMAN  
By A. J. Volck.  
Gift of Mr. F. H. Falkinburg. 50.69.70
400. UNKNOWN WOMAN  
By A. J. Volck.  
Gift of Mr. F. H. Falkinburg. 50.69.71

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## REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

*Benjamin Henry Latrobe.* By TALBOT HAMLIN. New York: Oxford University Press, 1955. xxxvi, 633 pp. \$15.

This is one of the most informative and exciting architectural books to appear in the last decade. It is not only a carefully documented history of the life and achievements of Latrobe, but it is also a volume of penetrating criticism and sharp insight concerned with the buildings of his period, and in addition is a commentary upon habits and ways of life during the first two decades of the nineteenth century.

A very important chapter of the book concerns Latrobe's early career in England, about which almost nothing was known until Professor Hamlin, with the assistance of Dorothy Stroud, undertook this research. Latrobe worked for Samuel Pepys Cockerell in 1787, but opened his own London office four years later. A number of his buildings are still standing, handsome country houses known as Hammerwood Lodge and Ashdown House among them. Here are intimations of his future American work, with restrained detail, delicately modulated wall surfaces, and windows without architraves. This shows an adherence to the contemporary European trend that was led by Soane in England and Ledoux in France. Modern architecture in London during the 1790's was drifting far away from both the heavy Palladian mode, that Sir William Chambers had exemplified, as well as the delicate neo-classicism that Robert Adam had popularized. No wonder that Latrobe in 1796 found the designs for the new Capitol in Washington faulty in external detail, a reflection of Thornton's old-fashioned Palladianism. Latrobe not only brought into the United States the first awareness of the new international style based on restraint; he also was the creator of the architectural profession in this country; every architect and every individual or corporation that has used and profited by architectural services may thank him.

Latrobe's earliest major work was Philadelphia's Bank of Pennsylvania, the first example of the Greek revival style of architecture in his adopted country. Its columns reflected the Ionic temple in Athens that once stood by the Illissus river, but its structural concept and plan were modern. This building was an architectural declaration of independence, proving that a well-trained architect could go far beyond the ordinary usages of his time; the almost universal welcome accorded it proved, too, that the best popular taste of the period was ready and even eager for this kind of new vision. It seems regrettable that by contrast there is such a hiatus

in our own time between the cultivated public and the progressive architect; the fault is not one-sided.

The Baltimore Cathedral projects of Latrobe have been discussed a number of times by architectural historians, but Hamlin brings fresh insight into the complicated history of this building, and additional information. It is now seen that the precedent for the (rejected) Gothic scheme was Kirkstall Abbey in Leeds, near his boyhood home; this ruin had enthralled the architect as a boy, and he had painted a picture of it from memory or from earlier sketches for one of his first American friends, Miss Susanna Spotswood. The Baltimore Cathedral as completed, according to his neo-classic design, was a structural masterpiece; his seventh plan for the building showed that the entire church was to be vaulted. With the exception of a few Spanish mission churches in Texas, no other American church of that day was completely vaulted in masonry. The segmental arches were unusual in this country, but Latrobe had used them elsewhere, and they were the variety that appeared in much recent London work, including the Bank of England.

Professor Hamlin discusses the labyrinthine history of the Capitol at Washington with clarity and precision, emphasizing with discernment the major contributions of Latrobe to its building. Perhaps many scholars will find fresh material in the less well-known houses that Latrobe designed in Washington and elsewhere. A very valuable adjunct to the book is a number of plans of houses that have been re-drawn by the author. These show the extraordinary skill of the architect in arranging functional interiors, with various rooms designed for specific purposes and always with comfortable service arrangements and useful closets and private corridors for the bedrooms. The Tayloe House in Washington is an example, and so is Senator Pope's house in Lexington; the interiors are zoned in an almost modern manner. The Van Ness house in Washington was Latrobe's domestic masterpiece, with plan, exterior design, and detail wedded together in an almost perfect integration. It is no wonder that in its time it was accepted as perhaps the greatest of Washington's private houses. It is sad that none of these houses are standing; as Hamlin remarks, the relative rapidity of change in the United States and England can well be illustrated by the history of Latrobe's own work. All his major houses in England are still extant; of the American city houses which he designed, only the Decatur house in Washington is preserved.

Throughout this book are illuminating commentaries culled from Latrobe's own journals. One sees correctly the countryside of Virginia which was not, in the eighteenth century, a paradise of columned mansions set in sweeping lawns bordered by tall and graceful trees, as many 20th century enthusiasts would picture it. Instead Latrobe notes: "good fences, clean grounds, and extensive cultivation strike the eye as something uncommon. . . . I do not mean to speak disrespectfully—of the shabbiness of their mansions . . . an unlucky boy breaks two or three squares of glass, the glazier lives fifty miles off. An old newspaper supplies their place in the mean time. Before the mean time is over the family gets

used to the newspapers and think no more of the glazier." Latrobe had some striking impressions of his first visit to Mount Vernon. In addition to penetrating analyses of the Washington family, he notes in passing that after it grew dark the company went inside the house and sat in the hall. Restorers of eighteenth century mansions to-day might well note that the broad halls of many country houses were not furnished or treated as passages or impersonal reception rooms; they were sitting rooms with a welcome draft coming through from the front door to the back door. In this respect the Virginia hall was a true descendant of the English mediaeval hall, the main living-room of a house.

It is unfortunate that no list is preserved of the architectural books that Latrobe owned; however, much of his library of fifteen hundred books which he sent on ahead to the United States as he prepared to leave England was lost; he states several times in his later journals that he designed largely from memory, and relied very little upon source books for inspiration. Talbot Hamlin has done well in tracking down in many cases the possible prototypes for some of his designs, as well as evaluating discerningly the original elements that gave his work such distinction. Architectural historians have eagerly awaited this study of Latrobe by Professor Hamlin. The superb results have more than justified their anticipation.

RICHARD HUBBARD HOWLAND

*Johns Hopkins University*

*Decatur House and its Inhabitants.* By MARIE BEALE. Washington, D. C.: National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1954. 156 pp.

Built shortly after the War of 1812, and situated a block from the White House, Decatur House was the first and is the last private residence on Lafayette Square. Its architect was a famous Marylander, Benjamin Latrobe. Its occupants were distinguished persons in the political and social life of the Capital, including Stephen Decatur, Henry Clay, Martin Van Buren, Edward Livingston, George M. Dallas, Edward Fitzgerald Beale, and Truxtun Beale. The Beales, who acquired the House shortly after the Civil War, have had by far the longest tenure of occupancy. Its present owner, Mrs. Beale, acutely aware of the historical significance of the House, has done four notable things: (1) she has had the House faithfully restored in accordance with the drawings of the architect; (2) she has willed the House to the National Trust for Historic Preservation; (3) she has provided for an endowment for its upkeep; and, so that information about its historic associations can be available to all, (4) she has written this book about its history.

If a house is to acquire a personality, it is largely determined by the personality of its occupants. And it is by learning the personality of the occupants that we can appreciate and understand the personality of a house. Mrs. Beale has devoted a chapter to each of the principal occupants of



Decatur House. She tells of high lights in the life of each occupant, often using direct quotations to give a realistic picture to her subject. In numerous cases she has told about outstanding episodes in the careers of the occupants that relate directly to the House.

Mrs. Beale has excelled in weaving together a distinctive and readable narrative. She has used care and good taste in her selection of materials. The book is pleasing in appearance. It is neatly printed. End papers show examples of the architect's original designs of the House. Numerous illustrations depict occupants of the House, pictures from the walls of the House, views of the environs, and pictures of the exterior. Mrs. Beale has, for the most part, elected to omit pictures of the interior, although fine ones were taken at different periods in the twentieth century. Documentation is limited chiefly to a two-page bibliography of printed sources. The book is a definite contribution to the history of Washington, D. C.

MEREDITH B. COLKET, JR.

*National Archives*

*John Carroll of Baltimore: Founder of the American Catholic Hierarchy.*

By ANNABELLE M. MELVILLE. New York: Scribners, 1955. 287 pp. \$4.50.

*John Carroll of Baltimore* is a soundly researched, charmingly written book about the first Catholic Bishop of the United States. Of the famed Carrolls of the Maryland colony, John Carroll began his priestly career on the eve of the American Revolution, was later appointed by Rome as the first Superior of the American Mission (1784), and still later made the Bishop of Baltimore (1790). In 1808, with the Catholic laity in the United States "increased four times over," John Carroll was elevated to the rank of Archbishop and four suffragan sees were created under him. The book makes abundantly clear John Carroll's rare acumen and statesmanship in laying the foundations of the Catholic Church in the new republic and in defining a satisfactory and lasting church and state relationship.

The author of this officially approved work, Professor Melville of the State Teachers College at Bridgewater, Massachusetts, earlier wrote a definitive life of Mother Seton (1951). In this study she has ably achieved her announced dual aim: to paint a fully dimensional portrait of John Carroll, the man and the priest, and to portray his efforts in creating an American Catholic hierarchy in the formative years of the American Republic. Consequently, her biography is a worthy supplement to Peter Guilday's two-volume *Life and Times of John Carroll*, completed some thirty years earlier.

John Carroll's pioneering efforts in American Catholicism are carefully presented against a backdrop of revolution and constitution-making. His was a task of building from the ground up. As he put it at the time of his

appointment as Bishop, everything had to be "raised as it were, from its foundations."

Father John Carroll revealed his patriotic zeal by participating in the fruitless mission to persuade the Quebec Province to join the revolting colonies in 1776. Loyalty to the Republic and an understanding of the new American principle of separation of church and state were also evidenced in 1784 when this leader of a religious minority sent a petition to Rome concerning the question of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. He believed that toleration "is a blessing and an advantage which it is our duty to preserve and improve with the utmost prudence, by demeaning ourselves on all occasions as subjects zealously attached to our government. . . ." Because of its keen scholarship and fine style, Professor Melville's book should have an appeal beyond the circles of Catholic scholarship.

CHARLES A. JOHNSON

*Headquarters, Air Research and  
Development Command*

*Zion in Baltimore, 1755-1955, The Bicentennial History of the Earliest  
German-American Church in Baltimore, Maryland.* By KLAUS WUST.  
Baltimore: Zion Church, 1955. 149 pp. \$3.00.

This is the story of a venerable church of charming aspect in the very center of the city of Baltimore, "older than the American Republic, older than the State of Maryland, it has witnessed the entire epic of the American nation." During all these years it has served its large membership as a spiritual force from the cradle to the grave and, naturally, has weathered numerous storms.

The various vicissitudes are symptomatic of the eras: Before the Revolution there was the church tax required of all citizens whether they were members of the Church of England or not, obviously an inconvenient burden to the Lutherans. The war of 1776-1783 saw active participation under the leadership of a founder member, the famous Dr. Wiesenthal. Early in the nineteenth century the language question, English or German services, caused a serious schism. The liberal views of Pastor Heinrich Scheib (1835-1896) led to the separation of this church from the Synod and brought on vicious attacks from conservative Lutheran groups. The Civil War found the pastor (Scheib) sympathetic to the Confederate cause and most members espousing the Union side; however, with rare tact the pastor held his flock united. The two World Wars caused bitter heart-break to the parishioners who were resolved to do their duty by their own country while by this very action they had to cut resolutely the ancestral and sentimental ties to the land of their fathers.

Culturally the history of the Zion Church reflects the various currents of two centuries. There was at first eighteenth century pietism and simple orthodoxy. The middle of the nineteenth century brought on a wave of

rationalism with great emphasis on education of the most modern type in the famous Scheib-School of beloved memory to many Baltimoreans of the older generation. Toward the end of the last century there came a turning away from rationalism coupled with a spirit of humanitarianism and appreciation of esthetic values in the church service. The church was very fortunate not only in attracting pastors of the calibre of Scheib, Hofmann, and Evers, all men of parts, but also in retaining them—the service of these three men covers more than a full century.

The volume is very attractively gotten up with handsome illustrations, a fine specimen from the Schneidereith Press. The author deserves great credit for his profound research work and his carefully weighed and interesting presentation. There are a number of appendices including an excellent bibliography.

A. E. ZUCKER

*University of Maryland*

*Historical Sketches of Harford County*, 2nd Edition. By SAMUEL MASON, JR. Lancaster, Pa.: Intelligencer Printing Co., 1955. 177 pp. \$4.00.

Mr. Mason has contributed to this second edition of his most interesting and popular studies in Harford County history twelve "rare" photographs, which, added to those which were published in the first edition, make a valuable collection, for which students of this county's past are deeply indebted to him. He has also added (pp. 125 to 177) a number of additional historical "sketches," as well as personal reminiscences. These last, always of interest, are often wistful and charming. Mr. Mason has lived to see militarization, industrialization, and more or less premature housing "developments" destroy the "bouquet" of great sections of the Harford County landscape, where they have not actually destroyed the landscape itself; and he knows that the end is not yet. He deplores (and he always will deplore) this irreparable loss, and looks with apprehension towards losses of this kind which are inevitably to come. No place in the county is any longer safe from the threat of super highways. Dinky Dells spring up over night far out in the country. They urbanize the countryside; they pollute streams. At night they cast their blatant glare on the horizon, where lately there was darkness, peace and mystery. Samuel Mason refuses to regard these change as "progress." He knows (as this reviewer knows) that the spectacle which they bring to life, while it is eminently American, has none of the peculiar characteristics of that Maryland which her natives love.

WILLIAM B. MARYE

*The Letters of William Gilmore Simms, Volume IV, 1858-1866.* Edited by MARY C. SIMMS OLIPHANT, et al. Univ. of South Carolina Press, 1954. xxvi, 643 pp. \$8.50.

In American literary history William Gilmore Simms is known familiarly through W. P. Trent's biography and V. L. Parrington's influential essay in *Main Currents in American Thought*. The appearance of each new volume in this ably edited series of collected letters has added depth and nuance to the traditional portrait. These letters, moreover, make readily available a wealth of domestic details concerning Simms' world, and seen against this background, a more exact estimate of his achievement can be made than was heretofore possible. The present volume, spanning as it does the years of secession and civil war, is less notable than its predecessors for the light it sheds on the literary life in the South, but it does record the most engaging chapter in Simms' personal history.

During the late 1850's Simms was plagued by disease, crop failure on his plantation, and the bankruptcy of his New York publisher. When war seemed certain, he prudently took measures to protect his copyrights and even to speculate on the possibilities of international copyright between North and South. He revived a scheme, long a favorite project, for publishing editions of Southern authors, but once hostilities began, literature was forgotten in the all-consuming idea of Southern Independence. When the war reached South Carolina, Simms did not escape unscathed. His home and library of over ten thousand volumes were burned by the invaders and his lifetime savings were wiped out. In addition, these were years of family tragedy—the death of his wife and of three young children. Broken in health and haunted by what he came to believe was a malignant fate, Simms discovered unsuspected inner resources of endurance and resiliency. When peace finally came, he turned again, at the age of sixty, to literary hack work with a courage and gallantry which did honor to the code he had followed to its defeat.

CHARLES H. BOHNER

*University of Delaware*

*Secretary Stimson: A Study in Statecraft.* By RICHARD N. CURRENT. New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1954. x, 272 pp. \$4.50.

One is tempted to say of Professor Current's uncharitable interpretation of Henry L. Stimson: "What Beard did to Roosevelt, Current has done to Stimson." But that would not be quite fair. Current has had access to sources—notably Stimson's personal diary—that afforded an insight into his subject that Beard lacked. But the similarities remain. Current's, too, is a work of special pleading. It is indignant, hostile, and brilliantly ironic. It is neo-isolationist, finely drawn, and at times, inconsistent. It is, in a sense, history through a telescope.



But in spite of its narrow focus, this is an informative book. Certainly Current contributes much that is new. No student of the period covered by Stimson's later career can overlook it. Nor can he fail to weigh carefully Current's evaluation of Stimson's accomplishments as Secretary of State under Hoover and Secretary of War under Roosevelt. The account of the Stimson Doctrine is most illuminating, even though the author might better have expended his deeper irony on Hoover. The analyses of Stimson's role in the removal of Japanese-Americans to concentration camps, the abortive effort to promote an industrial draft, and the fateful decision to drop the atomic bombs are especially challenging. As Current contends, Stimson was probably wrong in every instance. But as he does not always show, circumstances were often so extenuated that Stimson's decisions were humanly understandable, if not historically justifiable. Stimson was the product of the complex forces of his times, not merely of his own social and intellectual arrogance. And it is in the failure to treat those forces in both depth and breadth that Professor Current falls short.

WILLIAM H. HARBAUGH

*University of Connecticut*

*Beauregard, Napoleon in Gray.* By T. HARRY WILLIAMS. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1954. 345 pp. \$4.75.

This biography of one of the Confederate major figures adds another volume to the phenomenal amount of literature published in recent years on what has been called the "first modern war." Beauregard's life is a natural for the biographer. His was one full of color and variety. He was not, as Mr. Williams points out, a great general, nor a good one, the reviewer might add. Beauregard believed in the "Book"; (his strategic ideas were based on Napoleon and Jomini) he mapped on great sheets of paper strategic plans, usually a night before a battle, shoved them into his subordinate's hands, and awaited the inevitable victory. Unfortunately, Beauregard failed to consider the fact that his enemy might not act as he wanted him to.

Beauregard's chief bid for fame, although an ignominious one, rests on his decision not to pursue Grant at Shiloh. Had he chosen to do so, the West might have remained Confederate property. Indeed, one might speculate upon a totally different war. Mr. Williams, in a very good picture of this "if" battle, attributes Beauregard's decision to the Confederate's cognizance of his troops' exhaustion. This is one answer, but the decision can be placed also on Beauregard's inability to alter plans in a changing situation. Unfortunately for him, his opponent, U. S. Grant, did not believe in paper strategy. Shiloh was Beauregard's first and last big battle. Davis, who never liked the hero of First Manassas, packed him off to conduct the defense of Charleston.

The General's career after the war is an interesting one. Like most of

the other Southern generals, he faced a bleak situation. Many resorted to anything that would keep them alive. General Pickett, for example, sold insurance. Beauregard was ambitious; he got the railroads of Louisiana in running order; he championed new enterprises, and finally he lent his name to one of the most gigantic gambling enterprises of all time, the Louisiana Lottery.

Very seldom does a book appear in which scholarship and readability are skilfully combined. This book, however, does just that and, as such, is to be recommended for both the scholar and the ordinary reader.

RICHARD R. BORNEMANN

*Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years and the War Years.* By CARL SANDBURG. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1954. xiv, 762 pp. \$7.50.

The most descriptive adjective linked with the original six-volume biography of Sandburg's *Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years* (Two Volumes) and *Abraham Lincoln: The War Years* (Four Volumes), is "monumental." This one-volume edition, happily, retains much of the sweep and grandeur of the original. To readers who, because of time or money, must forego the pleasures of the unabridged volumes, this book is unreservedly recommended.

Abridgements seldom enhance a literary reputation. But the formidable challenge which confronted Sandburg in compressing the plenitude of lore, anecdote, and historical fact which impressed his earlier editions has been met with such skill that with this work he stands even higher among the many biographers of the Great Emancipator. Not only has the author conserved the essence of the original enterprise, but he has deftly interwoven all the new material that has become available in recent years. The fresh research includes the Lincoln-Judge David Davis letters which enlighten the portrait of Lincoln the politician, as well as the Robert T. Lincoln Collection of the Library of Congress which makes even more indelible the facets of Lincoln's character long etched by song and story.

Sandburg has retained in this work the general outline of the originals. In sixty-nine chapters, the reader is carried from the wilderness beginnings to the mournful arrival of the funeral train at Springfield. Although the procession of events moves swiftly, the reader is not left with a feeling that the author has taken shortcuts or has been skimpy with details. On the contrary, this treatment, compressed as it is, incorporates more subtleties of detail than are to be found in many of the single-volume Lincolniana.

Adding to the richness of the text are over 100 photographs and line cuts which are a delight in themselves. Front and back endpapers, reproductions of the hand of Lincoln and his life mask, respectively, add striking beauty to a handsome format.

RAYMOND W. YOUNG

Hood College,  
Frederick, Md.

*American Heritage, The Magazine of History*. Edited by BRUCE CATTON. New York: American Heritage Publishing Co. Vol. VI (Dec., 1954-Oct., 1955). \$12 per year.

The first year's publication of the new *American Heritage* has been a highly successful venture both from an academic and commercial viewpoint. Bruce Catton, one of our most competent historians and certainly one of the ablest writers of our history, has achieved great success in combining articles of historical value with popular appeal. The success of *American Heritage* makes it clear that accurate and scholarly historical writing can have popular appeal.

Perhaps the greatest advantage of the *American Heritage* over previous scholarly publications in this field is the attractive format of the publication which includes photographs and paintings in vivid colors. *American Heritage* is reported to have 82,000 paid circulation to subscribers with some 12,000 copies of the book in magazine form being sold each quarter through bookstores at \$2.95 each. It is a timely periodical, half book and half magazine. It should become a very valuable addition to the American field of historiography.

It is this reviewer's hope that *American Heritage* will not succumb to the temptation of becoming a medium primarily for book digest or excerpts from books. There is a vast field of fascinating subject material to cover that would otherwise never be published in any type of book form.

FRANK E. SMITH

*U.S. Representative from Mississippi*

*Federalist Delaware, 1775-1815*. By JOHN A. MUNROE. New Brunswick: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1954. xiv, 286 pp. \$5.00.

*Federalist Delaware* has recently received its share of historical attention, as this volume by Professor Munroe and Morton Borden's *Federalism of James A. Bayard* testify. Munroe's work is a comprehensive exploration of the four decades from the Revolution through the War of 1812, with chief emphasis on the economic and political development of Delaware's three counties. Because of its smallness in size and population, Delaware offers special problems of organization and presentation to the historian of its early national years. These difficulties are probably best illustrated by the fact that Munroe's book has no chapters, but instead is divided into forty-six short essays averaging five pages each. His discussion of the years from 1775 to 1795 is a series of loosely connected topical essays narrating the political evolution of Delaware from colony to state, surveying the social and cultural themes of the time, and analyzing the economic development of the period. In dealing with the twenty years from Jay's Treaty to the Treaty of Ghent, the author pulls these threads together, weaving

them into an excellent, integrated account of Delaware's peculiar brand of Federalism.

By that time, however, Professor Munroe has used up three quarters of his space, so that his main contribution has to be squeezed into the last quarter of the book. It is precisely here, moreover, that he is at his best, for his analysis of Federalism's firm grip on Delaware politics, when that party was sliding into oblivion everywhere else, indicates that historical spadework at the grassroots level can modify pat historiographical formulations.

It cannot be said, of course, that tiny Delaware—unrepresentative in so many ways—upsets the Beardian stereotype, even though her mercantile interests were predominantly Jeffersonian and her agrarians chiefly Federalists. Munroe explains this political perverseness in terms of religious, social and nationality, and sectional economic rivalries within the state. New Castle County was urban and industrial, and welcomed immigrants, particularly the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians who "were the bulwark of the patriotic cause in the Revolution and the main strength of the Democratic-Republican party at the end of the century." Down-state was predominantly agrarian and rural, overwhelmingly English in background, Anglican and Methodist in religion, a hotbed of loyalism during the Revolution and later the Federalist stronghold. Only twice did the Republicans seriously challenge Federalist control. In 1801-02, following the first flush of Jeffersonian victory, they unseated the Federalists, and again in 1810, when the war fever aided their cause. These triumphs testified to the efficacy of Republican party machinery, but the Federalists, by adopting similar techniques, brought their party closer to the people than was the case elsewhere, made other concessions, and promptly regained control. One of the key reasons for Federalist ascendancy in Delaware, when Democracy was generally triumphant, was the fact that the party there "was teachable rather than self-sufficient."

JAMES MORTON SMITH

*The Institute of Early American  
History and Culture*

*Delaware's Role in World War II.* By WILLIAM H. CONNER and LEON DE VALINGER, JR. Dover: Public Archives Commission, 1955.  
2 vols.

Eleven days after Pearl Harbor, Delaware began preserving records of the State's contributions to World War II. With volunteers assisting established agencies, the program continued until December 31, 1946, the official terminal date of hostilities. William H. Conner, veteran newspaper man, and Leon de Valinger, Jr., State Archivist, then undertook the formidable task of selecting material and preparing it for publication.

The result is two attractive volumes, stamped with devoted interest,



meticulous attention to detail, and workmanship of a high order. The text is compact and readable. Illustrations are plentiful and include maps. The full coverage includes the war work of many government agencies, the contributions of industry and agriculture, and other homefront activities. In addition, a substantial portion of the work is devoted to relating the adventures and achievements of individual Delawareans in the various theaters of war, a feature which increases interest. Rosters of Delaware army units and of those citizens who died in the war are appended. Everyone concerned with the Delaware project merits congratulations for bringing it to an outstanding conclusion.

HAROLD R. MANAKEE

*Guide to the Manuscript Collections in the Toronto Public Libraries.*  
Toronto: Public Libraries, 1954. iv, 116 pp.

*Guide to the Manuscripts of the Kentucky Historical Society.* By G.  
GLENN CLIFT. Frankfort: The Society, 1955. iv, 185 pp.

Here are two more in the growing group of guides to manuscript collections, large and small, in this country and in Canada. The *Toronto Guide* (a revised edition) represents a careful, professional job with what appears to be a nice balance between general and detailed descriptions of groups and individual documents. Sufficient historical data is given to identify obscure persons, materials, or situations.

The *Kentucky Guide* gives evidence of considerable adaptation of basic principles to meet local needs. One must wonder whether it was wise to create dozens of "groups" of manuscripts consisting of only one or two documents rather than a single group to include all miscellaneous items. But let there be no carping on this or other minor points. The user of the *Guide* can find quickly the manuscript materials (a few are of Maryland interest) available in Frankfort.

It is to be hoped that in due course the Maryland Historical Society will be able to complete and publish a satisfactory guide to its distinguished manuscript collection. That action will be a culmination to the efforts of those who, in a period of more than a century, have collected and organized it, and a boon to the scholars and students who will use it repeatedly.

FRED SHELLEY

*New Jersey Historical Society*

*A Goodly Heritage: Earliest Wills on an American Frontier.* By ELLA CHALFANT. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1955. xiii, 239 pp. \$3.00.

This attractive volume is for the casual amateur of early American wills or of Pittsburgh antiquities. It comprises a selection from the will books of Allegheny County (Pennsylvania) for the years 1789 to 1830: a few entire wills, a number of abstracts, and short quotations from more than a hundred other wills, interlaced with quotations from old newspapers and the author's comments on social implications, personalities and technicalities. These comments are often pointless and sometimes ill informed. (Of James O'Hara, born in 1754, it is said that he "had served in the British Army under Queen Anne.") The bibliography is amateurish.

Genealogists, who already had access to a fuller collection of will abstracts for Allegheny County complete for the years 1789 to 1801 (*Publications of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania*, volume VII), will take less interest in the text of this new book than in Appendix B, which sets forth office procedure for examining wills in Allegheny County, and Appendix C, which provides an index of testators for the first three will books of that county, an index regrettably lacking dates.

HENRY J. YOUNG

*Pennsylvania Historical and  
Museum Commission*

*The Tinkling Spring: Headwater of Freedom.* By HOWARD McK. WILSON. Fishersville, Va., 1954. 542 pp. \$8.00.

With the publication of this volume, we have another addition to the growing number of Virginia church histories appearing in recent years. This time, however, rather than the Anglican or Episcopalian Church in Virginia, it is Presbyterianism in Augusta County which comes in for treatment.

Dr. Wilson, who exhibits a real feeling for the history and people of the Tinkling Spring Presbyterian movement, has undertaken a difficult task in writing this book. As he deals with the Tinkling Spring church over a two hundred year period he attempts to relate its history "to the history of the neighborhood and to the larger history of its times." This approach proves to be somewhat disturbing in places, for the reader's interest and attention are sometimes drawn too far away from the central subject of the book. This weakness is accentuated by the many illustrations which usually have little or no relationship to the sections of the book where they are to be found. In spite of these shortcomings, the book is an interesting and welcomed addition to the field of church history in Virginia.

KENNETH L. CARROLL

*Southern Methodist University*

*The Colonial Records of South Carolina: The Journal of the Commons House of Assembly, February 20, 1744-May 25, 1745.* Edited by J. H. EASTERBY. Columbia: South Carolina Archives Dept., 1955. xi, 626 pp. \$12.50.

The Journal of South Carolina's Common House of Assembly covering the period from September 14, 1742 to May 25, 1745 has been published in two parts because of the mass of material involved. This, the second part of the Journal, records the proceedings of the Commons House of Assembly from February 20, 1744 to the last adjournment on May 25, 1745.

Within the space of fifteen months twenty-nine bills were passed by the Commons dealing with taxes, public improvements, and matters pertaining to the defense and economy of the colony, made pressing by the War of the Austrian Succession. Amicable relations between Commons and Council can be inferred by the passage of such a large number of acts. Yet there was also an undercurrent of tension present between the two, which can be seen in the Council's defeat of the tax bill of 1745, which left public debts unpaid at a critical time.

Historians will find in these Journals valuable and absorbing source material on the economic, social, and political development of colonial South Carolina.

SUZANNE LOWITT

*Mitchell College,  
New London, Conn.*

*The Merchants Club of Baltimore City from 1881.* By HAROLD A. WILLIAMS. Balto.: Schneidereith & Sons, 1955. 24 pp.

Baltimoreans should be interested in this attractive booklet which not only includes the history of The Merchants Club but interesting sidelights on Maryland life as well. Good food was a dominant thought of the members of the club and this account includes many appetizing menus and descriptions of good living.

*The House on Jones Neck.* By J. H. POWELL. Printed by the Friends of the John Dickinson Mansion, Inc., 1954. 26 pp. \$50.

Readers of the *Magazine* who enjoy our articles on Maryland houses might be interested in this booklet on a Delaware house five miles down the St. Jones River below Dover. Dickinson Mansion dates from the colonial period. John Dickinson, its most famous owner, well known for his *Farmer's Letters*, was born in Maryland. The estate has had

Maryland connections since the time of the William Penn controversy with the Lords Baltimore over colony boundaries. The close ties between Samuel Dickinson and families on the Eastern Shore will make this interesting reading for many Marylanders.

*History as an Art.* By BERTRAND RUSSELL. Aldington, Ashford, Kent, G. B.: The Hand And Flower Press, 1954. 23 pp.

This thoughtful work, delivered as the Hermon Ould Memorial Lecture, should interest many of our readers. The author contends that if history is to fulfill the function of being a part of everybody's mental furniture, as in the case of poetry, it can only do so by appealing to those who are not professional historians. By this the author does not condone carelessness in the scholarly pursuit of historical knowledge but instead wants the results of it made meaningful to the general reader.

*Genealogy of Joseph Peck and Some Related Families.* . . . By GEORGE BRADEN ROBERTS. Wash., D. C.: Privately Printed, 1955. 344 pp. \$10.

Mr. Roberts has prepared an extensive, well organized and attractive study of the genealogy of the Peck family of Virginia, which includes the following families: Bordens, Fowles, Winters, Grovers, Carpers, Clays, Chapmans, Staffords, McClures, Meeks, Molletts, and Osbornes. He has included photographs, maps showing ownership of land, and a useful index. Copies may be procured from the author whose address is Apt. 522, 2853 Ontario Road, N. W., Washington 9, D. C.

*Letter from The Secretary of War, Transmitting a Report of The Names, Rank, and Line, of Every Person placed on The Pension List.* . . . Wash., D. C., 1820: Reprinted by Southern Book Company, Baltimore, 1955. 672 pp. \$10.

Mr. Jules Chodak, of the Southern Book Company, in reprinting this scarce work has done a valuable service for all those seeking information on the military record of their ancestors prior to 1820. Mr. Chodak has added a short index of the States on the back of the title page, making it easier for the user to locate material in this facsimile of the official document.



*The Hagey Families in America and The Dulaney Family.* By KING ALBERT HAGEY and WILLIAM ANDERSON HAGEY. Bristol, Tenn.: The King Printing Co., 1951. 714 pp. \$17.50.

Although this book has been in print since 1951, we feel that it should be brought to the attention of our readers at this late date because it contains an extremely detailed and useful genealogy by William Anderson Hagey on the Dulaney family, forming Part Three of the entire work, pages 539-635. Included are photographs of members of the Dulaney family and a reproduction of the Dulaney mansion in Annapolis. Anyone interested in this famous family of Maryland will want to peruse Hagey's work.

## NOTES AND QUERIES

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### A NEW EDITOR ASSUMES CONTROL

The resignation last summer of Mr. Fred Shelley, who had been Librarian of the Society since 1950, entailed also his retirement as Editor of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*. On coming to the Society he was appointed Assistant Editor and in 1951 assumed the Editorship. As members and readers know, the Magazine's standards were conscientiously and successfully maintained during the succeeding four years. In his new field as Librarian of the New Jersey Historical Society, Newark, N. J., the Society's staff and membership generally join in wishing him well.

The incoming Librarian, Mr. Francis C. Haber, has been appointed to the Editorship and with this number assumes full responsibility. Fortunately, he is a former member of the Library staff and at one time served under Mr. Shelley as Associate Editor. He is already well and favorably known to many of the Society's members.

J. HALL PLEASANTS

*Chairman, Committee on Publications*

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### PARKER GENEALOGICAL PRIZES TO BE AWARDED

Manuscripts to be submitted in the 1955 contest for the best papers on the pedigrees of Maryland families should reach the Society on or before December 31st next. The awards will be announced as soon as the judges have completed their work. The prizes will be \$25 first prize, \$20 second prize and \$15 third prize. Entries should be sent to the Director of the Society and marked "Parker Prize Contest." These awards were established by Mrs. Sumner A. Parker and are known as the Sumner and Dudrea Parker Genealogical Awards.

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*Leonard Calvert*—The Society of the Ark and Dove of Maryland has purchased and placed in the custody of the Maryland Historical Society a signed document written in 1633 from Leonard Calvert granting power of attorney to Sir Richard Lechford.

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*Confederate Army—Maryland*—Information is requested on all Maryland Confederate soldiers, including names, dates, places of graves. I am trying to authenticate 15,000 unrecorded Confederates of Maryland.

C. A. BRICE

181 Prince George Street, Annapolis, Md.

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*Allison—Murdoch—Pratt*—Further information and source materials are desired on Richard Taylor Allison, James Campbell Murdoch and Thomas St. George Pratt. All served in the Confederate States Marine Corps.

RALPH DONNELLY

4611 Twenty-first Street, North Woodbridge, Md.,  
Washington 18, D. C.

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*Barr*—I desire the names of parents of my grandfather Thomas Barr, born in 1800 in Kentucky.

LOCKWOOD BARR

955 Pelhamdale Avenue, Pelham Manor, N. Y.

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*DeLong (DeLang)*—Data on any pre-19th century American immigrant bearing either surname or variant thereof are wanted. Also documentary references to European national origin of any American lineage of such surname.

DAVID DEL. JONES

Apt. 109, 5420 Conn. Ave., Washington 15, D. C.

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## CONTRIBUTORS

ST. GEORGE LEAKIN SIOUSSAT, former Chief of the Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress, and well known for his long and distinguished career as historian and editor, received his Ph. D. from the Johns Hopkins University in 1899. He has seen at first hand the inception and growth of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*. ☆ ALEXANDER DECONDE of the Duke University faculty is known to readers of the *Magazine* for his previous article on Murray in March, 1953. He has published other articles on Murray and the book *Herbert Hoover's Latin American Policy* (1951). ☆ EDWARD C. MORSE, Colonel, Retired, A. U. S., former physician in Washington, D. C., is a direct descendant through the Wederstrandt family of Charles Blake, founder of Blakeford. ☆ MARIE DIXON CULLEN, a direct descendant of John MacKeele, has undertaken extensive researches into the genealogical history of the MacKeele, Pattison and other related families.















